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HISTORICAL ACCOUNT

OF THE MOST CELEBRATED

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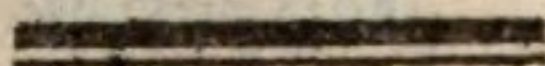
TRAVELS, AND DISCOVERIES,

FROM THE

TIME OF COLUMBUS

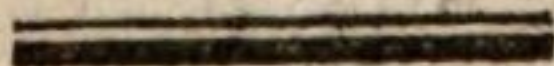
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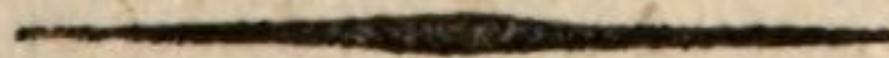


“Non apis inde tulit collectos sedula flores.”

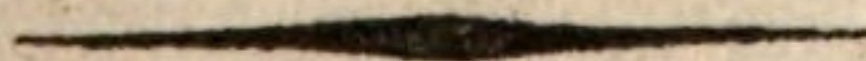
Ovid.



By WILLIAM MAVOR, LL.D.



VOL. III.



L O N D O N:

PRINTED FOR E. NEWBERRY,

ST. PAUL'S CHURCH-YARD.



1796.

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HISTORICAL ACCOUNT

OF THE MOST CELEBRATED

VOYAGES,

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FROM THE

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TO THE

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Staatsbibliothek
München

BY WILLIAM WATSON, F.R.S.

VOL. III.

LONDON

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1790.

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CAPTAIN JAMES,

FOR THE DISCOVERY

OF A

NORTH-WEST PASSAGE TO INDIA:

THE love of gain will ever be the most active stimulus of adventurers. Notwithstanding the sufferings we have recorded of navigators in the northern seas, commercial and speculative men still entertained the idea, that a passage that way to the South Sea was practicable, and former failures only rendered the patrons of the scheme more zealous to persevere. For this purpose, several merchants of Bristol formed themselves into a company, about the year 1630; and King James I. being apprized of their designs, no less honourable to their country, than beneficial to themselves, was graciously pleased to signify his approbation, and to confirm the choice they had made of Captain Thomas James, to go upon this expedition.

James was universally regarded as a man of integrity, as well as an experienced mariner; and consequently was well adapted for such an enterprise. Besides, he had been engaged in some northern voyages; and it was supposed, that he

united local knowledge to a consummate perfection in the nautic art.

As a large ship would have been more difficult to manage, in such a navigation, than a small one, James only desired a vessel of seventy tons; which being equipped, he fell down Bristol Channel on the 3d of May 1631; but meeting with contrary winds, took shelter in Milford Haven, where he remained several days. A fair wind springing up, he took the advantage; and on the 4th of June arrived in sight of Greenland.

Next morning he was encompassed with ice, and the more the men endeavoured to extricate themselves from it, the more they were entangled. At last they made fast to a large piece, and endeavoured to repel the approach of the others, in which attempt, all their poles were broken. The danger hourly increased, and on the 6th, such prodigious fragments of ice assailed them, that the ship was in imminent danger of being crushed to pieces; but, by spreading the sails, she escaped, only to dash with more violence on another fragment, which flayed the shallop, and at first it was doubted, if the ship had not shared the same fate.

However, by launching the long boat, the parts of the shallop were recovered, and placed on the deck; and the ship made her way, during a perfect storm, through such impediments, as every moment threatened destruction.

Being near the most southern point of Greenland, on the 10th, the sea being very rough, and some pieces of ice in sight, higher than the main topmast, the long boat broke from the stern; and two men were desperately bruised in

in trying to recover it, which, however, they effected.

After receiving many shocks from the mountains of ice, on the 17th, at night, the weather was so dark, foggy, and severe, that they were in the momentary expectation of being dashed to pieces; and the sails and rigging became stiff with frost. When morning appeared, they perceived the Isle of Resolution, in the opening of Hudson's Strait, and endeavoured to double the southern point. As the fog, which had continued for some days, began to clear up, they found the entrance of the Strait filled with ice, closely wedged together; and in attempting to proceed, they were fast inclosed, and driven to and fro with it.

Early on the 20th, having doubled the intended point of Resolution, the wind shifting to the west, drove them, together with the ice, towards land, within two leagues of which, they met with nothing but short breakers, and masses of ice aground, at the depth of 40 fathoms. Both the ship and the ice were whirled round and round, in a surprising manner, by an eddy of the sea; and they were soon met by a strong ebb, rushing from the broken grounds of the island, which carried them through innumerable meanders among rocks and ice. To prevent themselves from being driven on shore and wrecked, which they had the strongest reason to dread, they endeavoured to make fast to a piece of ice on each side, that drew about ten fathoms water, which served them by way of sounding; being so situated, that one or the other must have been driven aground before the ship.

This expedient, however, appearing insufficient to secure the ship, the boat was hoisted out in search of a place of safety, among the rocks; but being instantly inclosed, the men were obliged to haul her upon the ice, and to drag her from piece to piece. Meanwhile the whirling of the ice disengaged the ship from her two supporters, and the crew were obliged to make signals for the boat to return. It was even feared she had been lost with one-third of the crew; however, to the great joy of the company, she rejoined them.

The ship had now only three fathoms water, and lay under the shelter of a large mass of ice, which was aground; but at the return of the tide, the floating fragments drove with such violence against her sides, that all the exertions of the men were required to keep them off. At high water, their bulwark of ice, towards the shore, floated also, and left them exposed; but at the return of the tide, it providentially resumed its station, and afforded them shelter again.

After a repetition of attacks from the ice, and passing a night in bustle and alarm, amidst snow and tempest, at high water the ship was driven on a sharp rock, where she was left by the ebb in such a posture, that it was impossible the men could keep their footing in her. Apprehending she would never be got off, the crew began to think of another world, and went to prayers on an adjoining portion of ice. Happily, however, as the tide turned, to their inexpressible joy, they once more saw the ship afloat, and having got on board, they laboured with all their might to extricate her from a vicinity of such imminent danger. They first tried to surround themselves
with

with ice, as being much less dangerous than the rocks. They were, however, obliged to hew one piece with their axes, and other strong instruments, for fear of being overset by it.

Captain James now went on shore on the ice, which formed a continued footing to the land, and having erected a beacon of stones, he placed a cross upon it, and named it the HARBOUR OF GOD'S PROVIDENCE. At low water, those pieces that were aground, broke with a thundering noise.

On the 23d, the captain and some of his men went to reconnoitre the east part of the island, where he climbed up a high ground, to see if he could possibly descry any place where he might steer the ship into greater security.

While in the search, he heard a dreadful noise, which arose from a very large piece of ice splitting, near the ship, into four pieces. It happened, however, that it was at too great a distance to do any manner of damage.

The captain now sent the boat into a cove he had discovered; and on her return, unmoored the ship, and with all possible expedition, warped her away from the ice; but they had not left it above a mile, before it went to pieces in such horrible ruin, that every one was convinced, the ship must have inevitably been lost, had she remained in her former station.

Having entered the cove, Captain James again went on shore; and discovered nothing but broken ground, without the least vegetation of any kind. As the ice yet covered the pools, no fowls were to be expected; nor were any animals seen, save a few foxes. However, there were signs of some of the savages having lately

been on that desolate spot; though it was not easy to conjecture what had brought them thither.

This cove received the appellation of Price's, from the master of the ship. It lies in 61 deg. 24 min. north latitude; and from the high lands, Button's Islands were discerned.

A fresh gale springing up, on the 24th they left the cove, steering between mountains of ice aground, twice as high as the topmast head. For the space of a league, they had clear water, and endeavoured to gain the north shore; but the ice was so closely wedged together, that they could make little progress, and were in constant danger. The weather clearing up two days after, they had clear sunshine, but little open sea; and the nights were so cold that the rigging froze.

On the 5th of July, they observed Salisbury Island, Prince Charles's Cape, and Mill Island; but to the north-west, nothing was to be seen but ice; which gave the captain the greater concern, as he began to be sensible of the impracticability of prosecuting his discoveries in that quarter this season.

Hudson's Straights are about one hundred and twenty leagues long, and from fifteen to twenty leagues broad. The north shore is the clearest from ice; but the navigation is endangered by many low islands. There is a certain tide, but no current.

On account of the ice, as already mentioned, James finding it impossible to advance to the north-westward, on the 16th of July, he altered his course, and stood for Mansfield Island, which he gained sight of the ensuing day.

This

This island is low and sterile; but has ponds of fresh water. Here the crew were put to half allowance of bread; and two men complained of sickness; but soon recovered. The ship stood off and on for a good way down the coast, but could find no refreshments, save a few fowls.

The wind proving favourable, on the 18th they made for the western land, but soon became encompassed by ice, and incommoded by fogs. For three successive days they were closely immured by ice, notwithstanding they hoisted all their sails, and the wind blew hard.

The men now, for the first time, began to murmur, thinking it impossible to advance or recede. The captain encouraged them to hope, by every persuasive argument; and, to keep them in spirits, made them drink a health to his majesty on the ice, while the ship stuck fast without a man on board.

James, however, began to feel the justice of their fears, and took the necessary steps to provide for the worst. On the 1st of August, the ice began to heave a little; and on the 3d they observed a little open water to the north-westward. After much labour, they at last got disengaged; and on the 11th entered the Bay of Hubbard's Hope.

Standing to the southward, while it was hazy, they perceived some breakers ahead; and endeavouring to clear them, struck on the rocks, while their sails were flying, and a fresh gale blowing. Every hand was immediately employed in furling the sails; and two or three heavy seas heaved the ship over the rocks, when they expected every instant to go to the bottom.

On

On the 20th they came to an anchor off a point of land, to which they gave the name of the New Principality of South Wales. Next day a storm arose, in which they had nearly lost their anchor; and several of the men were dangerously bruised by the dashing of the ship. The gunner's foot, being entangled in the cable, was wrung off at the ankle, and the master narrowly escaped breaking his leg.

On the 27th they anchored in five fathoms water, near a high land, when the captain sent off the boat, well manned and armed, with instructions to return before sun-set. Night, however, approached, and no news of the boat. This gave the captain the greatest uneasiness. He began to suspect that the crew was either lost, or had fallen a prey to the savages. The prospect of those on board was as dreadful as imagination can form; there were not hands enough on board to weigh the anchor, or manage the sails; but at length, to the lively joy of all, the boat returned, and the crew excused their long absence, by declaring that a sudden ebb had obliged them to wait the return of the tide. They reported that they had discovered the tracts of deer and bears, and had seen many fowls, some of which they killed; that a considerable quantity of wood was growing on the land; but that they had been able to discover no traces of inhabitants.

Two days after, a ship was discovered about four leagues to the leeward, which proved to be a king's frigate, commanded by Captain Fox. The usual salutes were exchanged. This vessel had sailed on discoveries in the spring of 1631, and had traced all the western bays discovered
by

by former navigators. She returned in 1632, and the captain published a pompous detail of his discoveries; but his narrative was never much regarded.

Captain Fox and some of his officers paid his brother adventurers a visit on board; and next morning sailed to the south-west. Those who have met in perilous and unexpected situations, will be best able to appreciate the pleasure of this interview.

To return to Captain James. On the 3d of September he stood in for the shore, and arrived at a cape, to which he gave the appellation of Henrietta Maria, from the queen. Next day they encountered a violent storm of wind, lightning, snow, and rain. The sea ran mountains high, washed over the deck, poured into the hold, and forced its way into the bread-room, where it spoiled the greatest part of the provisions. This dreadful hurricane continued with unabated violence till the 5th in the evening.

They made an island, which the captain named Lord Weston's, on the 10th. It lies in latitude 53 deg. 5 min. north. Standing to the eastward, they next day came to another, on which they found neither vegetable nor animal.

On the 12th, in the morning, the wind blowing hard, the ship was negligently run upon the rocks, and a wreck appearing inevitable, the carpenter's tools and some other necessaries were sent on shore. In the meanwhile they endeavoured to lighten the vessel, by staving the water casks, and throwing some heavy articles overboard; but after continuing five hours striking violently on the rocks, to the astonishment of all,

all, she got off, though in a very leaky condition.

It was now resolved to steer towards the bottom of Hudson's Bay, to explore a passage into the river of Canada; and, in case of failure, to winter on the main land, which was preferable to a rocky and insular station.

Another storm overtook them on the 14th, in which the shallop was totally lost. The ship had now only one boat left, and that in a very crazy condition. During the continuance of this dreadful visitation, every one thought of preparing for death; but that Providence, which had so often saved them, again was conspicuous in their behalf.

On the 19th of September, they anchored off the Earl of Bristol's Island; and, while in this place, the carpenter repaired the boat, and the captain went on shore, but found not the least vestige of a human creature ever having been there before. And now, finding that the wind seemed to be fixed in a northerly point, so that Hudson's Bay was not to be reached, they began to look out for some other more convenient wintering place. Some named Port Nelson; but the Captain objected to this, not only on account of the danger of the place itself, but the difficulty of reaching it through the ice. For this reason he determined to look out for some convenient creek to the southward.

After landing at different places, where nothing but famine stared them in the face, they at last reached Charlton Island, on the 7th of October, when it snowed so violently, that they were forced to clear the deck with shovels; and the snow freezing over every part of the ship,
made

made her resemble a mass of ice. Next day the sun shone bright, but had no effect. Indeed the cold was now so intense, that scarcely any thing could be preserved from freezing, even by the fire side, and the sails became useless. The boat, with great difficulty, reached the shore; and the captain seeing the winter set in so fast, ordered wood to be cut down and carried on board.

Having laid in as ample a supply of wood as the ship would contain, the sick were desirous of having a hut erected for them on shore, that they might the sooner recover their health. Having fixed on a convenient spot, the carpenter and others were set to work on the building. Meanwhile, the captain, with some attendants, ranged the island in quest of inhabitants, but found none; and returned exhausted with their travels through the snow.

On the 13th, some of the men desired leave to traverse the country; which being granted, they were furnished with ammunition, and strictly enjoined not to separate. They had it also in charge to look out for some convenient harbour for the ship. On the second day they returned with a small, lean deer, and reported that they had seen several more, but no signs of any rational inhabitants, nor any port. In this excursion they spent a night in the woods, where they were almost perished with cold.

Soon after, the lieutenant and five more obtained leave to try their fortune in travelling about the island; but though they wandered a great way, and staid out all night, they returned without having found any provisions; and what was worse, they lost the gunner's mate.

This

This unfortunate man, being weary with walking, attempted to cross a lake, that was apparently frozen over, to save himself the trouble of going round; but having reached the middle, the ice broke, and he was seen no more.

It now began to snow with such continued severity, that the boat could scarcely land, and the men were obliged to wade through thick congealed water. To obviate this inconvenience, the captain set the carpenter to construct a boat or sledge, that might be drawn on the ice, and used also where there was water. He likewise encouraged his men to make traps to catch foxes, some of which were daily seen; and as they had seen party-coloured ones, he concluded there were black foxes also, whose furs he supposed were valuable.

Captain James now took the latitude of the island, which he found to be 52 deg. north. Thus, notwithstanding the dreadful severity of the climate, this island is nearly in the latitude of London.

The hut took fire on the 12th, but was extinguished without much damage; however, the accident made them use care and vigilance in future. The weather being uncommonly severe, the captain staid on shore till the 17th, and when he went on board, he found the ship fixed, and entirely incruusted with ice, to the very rigging. His reflections were now gloomy enough: he had neither the hopes of saving the vessel, nor the probable assurance of being long able to endure the extremities to which they were reduced.

On the 22d, the gunner, who had previously lost his leg by an accident, paid the debt of nature.

ture. In such a climate it was impossible for a wound to heal: the plaister froze over it, and though he was lodged with all the care that circumstances would permit, and guarded from the cold, a bottle of sack, with which he was indulged, froze at his bed's head.

Next evening, the captain and all on board were alarmed by several pieces of ice driving against the hawser, which strained it considerably. In this dilemma the crew fired signals of distress, but those on shore were unable to render them any assistance. The ice, however, being but newly congealed, was at last broken through, and in a few hours disappeared.

To prevent accidents, the captain ordered all his men on board; and with much pain and difficulty they reached the ship. It was now resolved to run her aground, to preserve her as long as possible. This resolution being taken, a part of the bread, and a barrel of beef were landed; and all the other stores, with the powder, were carried into the great cabin. The ship being driven on shore, continued to beat with much violence, though she was bedded in sand; on which the captain ordered a hole to be bored in her bottom, and in six hours the water rose to such an height, that it was momentarily expected she would open, and break in pieces; but after having beat off her rudder, which was lost, she began to settle. The captain and crew had much difficulty to reach the shore; and when they landed, they were so altered by fatigue, and an incrustation of ice, that they could scarcely recognize each others faces.

Having reached their solitary abode, they kindled a good fire, and regaled themselves with

bread and melted snow. Their forlorn situation necessarily engaged their thoughts, and each was desired to speak his sentiments with freedom. The carpenter gave it as his opinion, that the ship was irrecoverably lost, but Captain James thought otherwise; and in a speech, fraught with piety and manly fortitude, encouraged his people to keep up their spirits, in the hopes of yet reaching their native land; but adding, that if Providence had destined them to end their days where they were, they were still as near heaven as in England. On this Providence, that had so often saved them, he encouraged them to rely; and suggested, that if the ship were lost, a pinnace might be made out of the wreck.

The carpenter gave his assurance, that no industry of his should be wanting to extricate them from their present difficulties, and the men all joined in offering their most active services to assist him. Captain James returned them all his due thanks, and promised considerable rewards to such as were most useful and industrious.

Next morning, the captain got the surgeon to cut off his hair short, which became extremely troublesome, from the icicles constantly attached to it. The crew having followed his example, prepared for work.

The first object was to get the clothes and provisions on shore. It would be painful to record all the miseries they endured in this difficult service. After securing the best part of the necessaries on ship board, their next care was to stow them safely on shore, and to provide lodgings for the accommodation of the crew during the melancholy season they had to remain there. Two houses were erected, each twenty feet square, of trees,

trees, in the most convenient spot; and a store-house was built at a little distance, to prevent accidents from fire. Every precaution was taken to render these apartments as commodious and comfortable as possible, and to fence against the severity of the climate.

Though they laboured with incessant application, it was impossible to remove all their stores from the ship, before the cold increased to such a degree, that every thing became immoveable, and the men were unable to venture out.

On the 21st of December, the rigours of the cold confined them within; but on the 23d, they set out with a view of getting the boat on shore, which had been dug out of the ice. Before noon, such a thick fog came on, that it was with extreme difficulty they could find their way, or keep together. The darkness was deeper than that of night. At last, they were all reassembled at the house; but in the most miserable condition imaginable. Some of the men were covered with large blisters, proceeding from too hastily approaching the fire, after being exposed to the cold; and all were much frost-bitten.

The well being now completely frozen up, snow water was of necessity used, both for drinking and dressing victuals. The insalubrity of this was soon perceptible. The captain, however, recollecting that he had seen a spring in the vicinity, at the foot of a hill, sent some men to try to discover it, which they happily did; and had the pleasure to find that it always ran with a full stream, and was never frozen so hard, but that the ice might be broken.

At this time, all the sack, vinegar, oil, and every kind of liquid had become one solid mass,

and were only to be broken by force ; nor could they be kept in a fluid state at the distance of a yard from the fire.

About the commencement of the year, the snow fell so thick, that it reached near the height of the roof of the house, The men were, therefore, obliged to cut a passage through it ; and to keep that passage clear, by daily shovelling away the fresh fallen snow. When this consolidated, it afforded what was denominated the captain's gallery and sick men's walk, the surface of it being a yard, at least, above the level of the ground.

The cold now became intolerably sharp. The atmosphere being full of vapours, made the sun and moon appear of an oblong figure, when near the horizon. On the 31st of January, the sky was so clear, that Captain James could perceive, or imagined he perceived, two-thirds more stars than ever he had seen before ; but the moon rising before midnight, three parts of them were lost in her lustre.

The sea freezes over every night, two or three inches thick. The half flood generally breaks this congelation, and drives the flakes over each other, which immediately coalesce ; and by this means, the ice, in a few hours, becomes five or six feet thick ; and the number of flakes and fields of ice are increased to that degree, that the sea is entirely filled with them, and the water cools more and more every day, till at last it becomes almost insupportable. As a proof of this, when Captain James's people waded in the sea, during the month of December, and the water froze on their legs, they did not feel it so sensibly as in the month of June.

In the month of February, that worst pest of mariners, the scurvy, began to make its appearance. Its dismal effects were soon bitterly felt by these unhappy men. They bled at the mouth, their gums were swollen, and sometimes black and putrid, and all their teeth were loose. In a word, their mouths were so much affected, that they could no longer masticate their usual food.

Some complained of shooting pains in the head, others in the breast; some felt a weakness in their reins, others had pains in their thighs and knees, and the legs of several swelled. The surgeon was a man of the most amiable character, and endeavoured to alleviate the distresses of the crew by every known art; and made use of some expedients which the novelty of the situation suggested. But, notwithstanding all his care, two-thirds of the company were under his hands, and yet were obliged to labour hard, without shoes to their feet.

In the open air the cold was almost insupportable; no clothes being proof against it, nor any exercise sufficient to keep up the natural warmth. It froze the eye-lashes, so that it was impossible to see; and the difficulty of respiration became extreme, from the coldness of the air. In the woods, the cold was somewhat less severe, yet here the men were afflicted with chilblains on their faces, hands, and feet. Even within the house, every thing was frozen, and hung full of icicles. The bedding was quite stiff, and covered with hoar frost, though the beds were almost close to the fire. The water, in which the cook soaked the salt meat, within doors, froze within three feet of the fire. But during the night, when the fire was neglected, all was

frozen into one lump in four hours time. When afterwards the cook soaked the meat in a copper kettle, close to the fire, to prevent it from freezing, the side near the fire was found to be warm, while the opposite side was frozen an inch thick.

Such are the general traits of a winter in this inhospitable climate. To enumerate all the sufferings of each individual of Captain James's company would be impossible; for every day was a period of suffering. During the whole winter, they did not catch above a dozen foxes, some of which were dead in the traps long before they were discovered, and therefore useless; but whenever one was taken alive, he was boiled to make broth for the sick, and the flesh was likewise appropriated for their use. A very few white partridges were also procured.

The 1st of April, being Easter-day, was solemnized in a religious manner. Both that and the two succeeding days were excessively severe, so that the company were confined within, and employed themselves in reasoning on their situation and prospects. The carpenter had for some time been so feeble, from illness, that he was obliged to be led to his work, which he had sedulously forwarded as long as able. But he was now incapable of farther exertion: several more were in the same situation; others were very infirm; and of the whole crew, only five could eat their ordinary allowance.

The season of the year, on which all their hopes depended, came on apace; and yet the cold was little abated. The pinnacle, notwithstanding the painful labours of the carpenter, was unfinished; and they all supposed that the ship must be irrecoverably lost. In short, after a variety

riety of opinions were given as to the mode of their future proceedings, and many reflections had passed on their present misery, the captain resolved, that it would be most advisable to attempt to clear the ship as soon as the weather would permit. Accordingly, the men who were able, began with bars and shovels to dig the ice, and to lay it in such a manner as to form a barricado round her, to prevent her from being wholly overfet by floating ice.

The 16th of April was one of the most pleasant days they had seen. They cleared the ship's deck of snow; and had the good fortune to discover the anchor. On the 19th, the weather was so much meliorated, that the master and two others requested permission to sleep on board, that they might be removed from the groans and lamentations of their sick companions.

The greatest part of April was spent in stopping the leaks of the ship, and repairing her other damages. In freeing her from ice and snow, the men laboured with such alacrity and success, that by the 28th the pumps were set free. On the 29th it rained, which was a day of joy, as it afforded a certain indication that the winter was beginning to break. The two following days were very severe; but the late rain had given the men such spirits, that they sat round the fire on May eve, and amused themselves with chusing mistresses, and wearing their names in their caps.

The thaw increasing, on the 4th of May some cranes and geese made their appearance; but though the captain and surgeon wearied themselves in trying to kill some for the use of the sick, they returned without success.

On

On the 9th, they heaved out of the hold four butts of beer, and one of cyder, which had kept in great perfection under the water. Same day they recovered five barrels of beef and pork; and by successive efforts, procured other useful articles, such as shoes, which were extremely wanted.

Some days were now employed in refitting the ship, in which they could find no visible defect; and, therefore, they hoped she might be righted.

The sick increased in number, and their disorders in malignity. Attempts to procure them refreshments of fowl had hitherto been vain; and now the captain ordered a small plot of ground to be sown with peas, in hopes of having some green vegetables. To the great grief of all the crew, William Cole, the carpenter, died on the 18th. He was a man much beloved, and of great skill in his profession. He had nearly completed a pinnacle of twelve or thirteen tons burden, in case the ship should prove unserviceable. He had exhausted himself for the benefit of others. As the master was returning from his funeral obsequies, he discovered the body of the gunner under the gun room ports; though he had been committed to the sea at a considerable distance. The corpse had no disagreeable smell, and the flesh slipped up and down upon the bones like a glove. He was now interred by the side of the carpenter.

Towards the end of May the weather became very hot by day, and there were symptoms of the ice parting. Joy now appeared in every countenance; and, as if Heaven had ordered that their hopes should not be dashed, the rudder was accidentally found, and brought on board. All
returned

returned thanks to the Supreme, for his gracious protection.

The sea being pretty clear between the ship and the shore, on the 30th they launched their boat. Next day they found some green leaves of vetches, which they boiled for the sick; and indeed, almost all might have come under this description; for, except the captain and another, not a man could eat salt provisions.

These vetches, however, proved a wonderful restorative; and in a short time, by using them freely, in all forms of diet, those who had not been able to stir for many weeks, took a part in the duty of the ship.

About the middle of June the weather became so hot, that the men took to bathing. Insects became numerous and tormenting, particularly musketoes. These revived, with the hot weather, from the torpidity in which they had lain during the brumal season, and covered the earth in immense varieties.

Having previously dug the sand from the sides of the ship, and sufficiently lightened her, they took the advantage of some high tides; and once more had the pleasure of seeing her swim in deep water.

The captain having caused a very large tree to be formed into a cross, affixed to it the pictures of King Charles I. and his queen, closely wrapped in lead, so as to be defended from the external air; and between the effegies, placed the subsequent inscription: "Charles, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, also of Newfoundland, and the territories to the westward, as far as New Albion, and northward, to the latitude of 80 deg. &c." On the outside of the lead he
nailed

nailed a shilling and a fixpence of that reign, and under, his majesty's arms, with the arms of the city of Bristol below. On Midsummer-day, this cross was erected on the hill, where the crew had buried their deceased companions; so that it served the double purpose of denoting possession, and of being a funeral monument.

Next morning the boatswain began to rig the ship, and the men were employed in getting necessaries on board. Meanwhile the captain, with an attendant, went to the highest eminence of the island, on which was a lofty tree, called the watch tower, to kindle a fire, in expectation that if there were any human beings in the neighbouring islands, they would make a corresponding signal; and enable him to visit them, and obtain some intelligence. As the captain was climbing up the watch tree, his attendant rashly set fire to some low trees to windward, which immediately were in a blaze; and the conflagration spread from tree to tree, with such rapidity, that the captain had some difficulty in quitting his station, before the fire was at the root of the tree, and advancing upwards. He leaped off, and ran with the utmost speed down the hill; but the fire pursued him so closely, that his speed had like to have been ineffectual. Every thing being dried to tinder, the trees, the moss, caught in an instant; and the flame ran along the ground as if a train had been laid.

Early next morning the powder was carried on board, and the captain, after a restless night, sent to examine the progress of the conflagration. It was soon perceived to be spreading, with horrid devastation, to the northward and westward. A person was left to watch it; and every preparation

ration was made to save the materials on shore, in case it should take the direction of the houses and the ship. About noon, the wind having shifted, the sentinel returned out of breath, with the alarming news, that the fire was close at his heels. All was now bustle and activity. The fire advanced towards them with a terrible noise, being a full mile in breadth; and scarcely had they time to remove the last articles of value from their town, as they termed it, before the flame laid hold of it, and soon laid it in ashes. The wind then shifted to another quarter, consuming all before it.

The men being all safe on board, returned thanks to Heaven, with great solemnity, for their deliverance from the devouring element, more dreadful than the seas and storms.

A few days after, the bay was quite clear of ice, and the climate began to prove very unwholesome. The heat of the sun, reflected from a sandy soil, was almost insupportable; yet, so sudden was the transition from one extreme to another, that ice, an inch thick, covered every pool at night.

On the 1st of July, the captain had the ship decorated in the best manner circumstances would allow. After which he prepared a brief statement of their past toils, and future intentions; with a request, that in case they should perish, this memorial of their labours might be made public by any adventurers who might touch there. This notification he sent ashore with much formality, ordering it to be affixed to the cross, which being surrounded by a sandy, sterile soil, had escaped the conflagration.

This

This done, they ascended the highest hills, and found that the fire had spread about sixteen miles to the westward, and the whole breadth of the island.

As the captain was walking along the beach, in the evening, he discovered an herb resembling scurvy grass, of which having gathered and boiled some, it was found a most agreeable food. A considerable quantity was collected after supper, on purpose to carry away with them.

Assembling to take a last view of the graves of their companions, they left the spot with the feelings of nature, and the hopes of never more setting a foot on the island.

We ought to remark, that arctic trees, such as spruce and juniper, some low shrubs and moss were the principal vegetable productions of the place; nor did it appear, at the most favourable season, to abound in any useful animals or fowls.

On the 2d of July they stood for Danby Island, to take in more wood, and to be ready to seize the first fair wind. The ship appeared in tolerable repair, the men in as good health as could be expected; and a considerable stock of provisions was still remaining.

On their arrival at Danby Island, some of the people discovered stakes driven into the ground, which evidently appeared to have been pointed by some tool. This gave the captain hopes that some natives might be found; but none existed or could be traced out.

From the 5th to the 22d, they were dreadfully embarrassed by ice, and blinded by fogs; and amid these incessant dangers to which they were exposed, the captain heard his men congratulating those who were no more; since it seemed
they

they were destined to starve on a fragment of ice, or be swallowed up in the deep. The captain temporized, and only exhorted them to patience.

They now came in sight of land, which they recognized to be Cape Henrietta Maria; and anchoring in six fathoms water, about a mile from the shore, and hoisting out the boat, landed with some dogs and guns, on an eminence, where they took possession. Soon after they saw some deer, but could not come within reach of them. However, they procured about a dozen young geese on the pools, a poor compensation for the toils they had gone through, to obtain more ample refreshments. As the dogs could not distance the deer, which were the object of their pursuit, they were left on shore to learn fleetness or starve.

Same evening they weighed, with an intention of weathering the Cape, and it being moon light, they proceeded for some time among broken masses of ice, till they found it necessary to anchor, and endeavour, by every possible means, to keep off the danger. As day approached, they saw all means of extricating themselves were useless; and, in the extremity of danger and distress, they continued some weeks, till the ship became so battered and leaky, that she was obliged to be pumped every half watch.

The captain now called a council, to determine what was to be done, when it was the general opinion, that it was impossible to proceed. James then adopted the dangerous resolution of watching the opportunity of sailing between the ice and a shoaly coast; which, at last, he put in execution.

On the 1st of August they had another conflict with the ice; and the wind proving contrary, they came to an anchor near the shore. For some succeeding days, they were inclosed more and more. On the 5th at noon, they were only twelve leagues distance from Cape Henrietta Maria, which was all they had gained since the 22d of July. All night it blew a violent storm, and the ship beat in a dreadful manner from piece to piece.

On the 7th, the weather became more moderate, and the wind shifting to the east, carried them into open water. Their dangers, however, were not passed. The wind soon changing, drove a range of ice towards them; and in a little time they were again surrounded by it. As soon as they recovered from one distress they were involved in another; and it was not till the 19th of August, that they surmounted the imminent dangers to which they had been exposed for six weeks successively.

The captain now resumed his design of prosecuting his voyage, and examined the inlets, which had been supposed, by former navigators, to afford the most probable passage into the South Seas. On the 24th he made Nottingham Island; but early in the evening it began to blow a strong gale, which soon increased to a storm, and continued without abatement for twenty-four hours. Very early in the morning of the 26th, they perceived, by moon-light, the ship embayed in ice; and before they could stay her, she struck upon it with great violence. Day-light brought the dismal prospect of fields and hills of ice, as far as the eye could reach, in the quarter where they intended to sail,

The captain, at last, began to feel that all his efforts would be vain. He, therefore, consulted with his officers; and that no blame might be imputed to him, obtained their sentiments in writing; which were, that no advantage could be expected from continuing longer in these seas, and that they ought immediately to direct their course for England.

Thither the pilot was ordered to steer; and after being lost in fogs, and harassed by snow and ice, in the beginning of September they cleared the Straights, after passing by mountains of ice, of superior magnitude to any they had yet seen. On the 8th, they had stormy weather, and the ship rolled excessively, and all her seams gaped. However, after this they saw no more ice; and the wind being propitious, they reached Bristol Road, without any farther accident, on the 22d of October,

The ship being put into dock, it appeared miraculous, that she had lived; for, on examination, it was found that she had lost fourteen feet of her keel; all her cut-water, and the greatest part of her sheathing were beaten and torn away; her bows were bruised and broken, many of her timbers cracked; and in one place, the rocks had nearly made a perforation.

Thus ended a voyage, which for perils, constancy, and resolution, is scarcely to be paralleled.

Captain James, on his return, modestly stated his opinion, that a north-west passage did not exist. He founded his reasons on these circumstances; that a tide constantly sets into Hudson's Straights, the flood coming from the eastward. The ice, he conceives, would certainly be broken and disjunct, if the free ocean were beyond it, as

he found to be the case in passing from the Straights into the sea, eastward. And lastly, he observed, that the ice always finds an outlet by the eastward. Such are the reasons he gives for the non-existence of a passage; and supposing it actually did exist, he gives valid objections against its ever being used with security or advantage. The multiplicity of dangerous ice and shoals renders it unfit for a large and valuable ship to attempt the navigation; and besides, one thousand leagues may be sooner and more safely made by the southward, than one hundred in this direction. Add to this, that here there are no opportunities of recruiting the sick; and nothing but danger and desolation to be expected.

To the validity of these arguments we entirely subscribe; but the history of the voyage which we are just about to give (that the connection may not be broken, though the chronological order must necessarily be violated) will prove that James's sentiments, however just, were far from being universally convincing.

VOYAGE OF
CAPTAIN HENRY ELLIS,
FOR THE
DISCOVERY OF A NORTH-WEST PASSAGE
TO THE
SOUTH SEAS.

THE Hudson Bay Company, though bound by charter to further and promote the discovery of a north-west passage, were generally suspected, from interested motives, to oppose and discourage every attempt for its accomplishment. And Captain Middleton, who in 1740, was sent, in a king's ship, expressly upon that service, returning without success, was publicly criminated for having accepted a bribe of five thousand pounds, to defeat the undertaking; and, by a partial report, to put an end to future attempts. This charge was strongly supported, and generally credited; and Mr. Dobbs, by whose interest Captain Middleton had been employed, prevailed with the then ministry, to preclude any future scheme of private corruption, by proposing a public reward of twenty thousand pounds, to the person who should make a perfect discovery of the passage in question.

Such was the liberal encouragement, held out by government, for the discovery of the long-desired communication between the North and South Seas; and the fair prospect of acquiring fame, by extending commerce, the hope of obtaining the parliamentary reward, and of exposing the disingenuity of Captain Middleton, were sufficient incitements to prevail with Mr. Dobbs to solicit the equipment of two ships, for another voyage, which he made not the least doubt would answer the most sanguine expectations of the patrons of the scheme.

Accordingly the Dobbs galley, of one hundred and eighty tons, commanded by Captain Moor; and the California, of one hundred and forty, Captain Henry Smith, were fitted out; and supplied with every thing that experience and liberality could suggest for the success of the enterprise. Very ample encouragement was held out to the captains and other officers; and Captain Henry Ellis was appointed supercargo, with a commission to make draughts of the new-discovered countries, and to collect and digest accounts of natural and artificial curiosities, within the scope of his observation.

The ships sailed from Gravesend on the 20th of May 1746, and steering by the east coast of England, passed the islands on the north of Scotland. Nothing occurred beyond the usual circumstances of navigation, till the 21st of June, when a terrible fire broke out in the great cabin of the Dobbs, and quickly advanced to the powder room, where there were not less than thirty barrels of gunpowder, exclusive of other combustibles.

It is impossible to describe the consternation and confusion that prevailed on this dilemma. Every person on board expected a momentary destruction. All the varieties of naval eloquence were displayed on this awful occasion: cries, prayers, imprecations, and abuse were poured out; yet some were cool, amid the danger, and neglected no precaution in their power. Water in great abundance was well directed, and every other preventative used by such as were masters of themselves.

As to the crew in general, their terror rendered them irresolute. They flew from one expedient to another, which one moment they attempted to execute and the next abandoned, in distraction and despair. Some were for hoisting out the boats, and accordingly the lashings were cut, but none had patience to launch them; others were for setting more sail, in order to overtake the *California*, which was considerably ahead, that in case of being blown up, the survivors might have some chance of relief. Chimerical as this was, the plan was partially adopted. In the midst of this dreadful alarm, the man at the helm, reflecting that the fire and powder were directly under him, was quite distracted, and negligent of his duty; nor can imagination paint a wilder scene than was universally exhibited. The ship was ahead to the wind, the sails shaking with a noise like thunder: she then turned, and ran right before it, and continued rolling; while the blast was instantly expected that was to terminate their hopes and fears. Providentially, however, the fire was at length extinguished; and it is unnecessary to express the lively emotions that a certainty of this diffused in every breast.

On

On the 27th they fell in with quantities of low ice, and for some time after passed through abundance of drift wood. The 6th of July brought the ships in contact with those mountains of ice which bound Hudson's Straights. These enormous masses were five or six hundred yards thick. On the 8th, they made the Islands of Resolution, in the mouth of the Straights, when the fogs suddenly clearing up, saved them from the impending danger of being dashed on the shore, or wrecked on the rocks.

At these islands, several canoes, with Esquimaux Indians on board, came off to trade; exchanging whale bone and seal skins for ironmongery goods. The traffic was attended with considerable profit to the English; and so eager were these poor savages to obtain knives and other articles of cutlery, that both men and women almost stripped themselves naked, to make as extensive purchases as possible.

We are told that the word Esquimaux is derived from an Indian term, signifying an eater of raw flesh, to which is joined a French termination. Indeed, they are said to be the only nation hitherto known that eat animal flesh absolutely raw; and this, with the appendage of beards, shews that they are not of the aboriginal stock, as the American Indians. They are therefore most probably of Greenlandish origin. In size they reach the middle height; are robust, and somewhat inclined to corpulency. They have large heads; round, flat, and swarthy faces; small, black, and sparkling eyes; flat noses; thick lips; black, lank hair; broad shoulders, and clumsy limbs; but their feet are disproportionably small.

Their

Their manners are cheerful and sprightly ; but in disposition they are subtle, deceitful, flatterers, and addicted to pilfering ; timid when opposed, but presuming where they are indulged. To their native customs, they shew a most rooted partiality, and even when separated in the earliest youth from their connections, and brought up in European habits, they have long shewn a predilection for their original attachments. One of them, after being fed on English diet, being present when one of our countrymen was cutting up a seal, from which the oil ran in copious streams, licked up what he could save with his hands ; exclaiming “ Oh ! commend me to my own dear country, where I could get a bellyful of this.”

The men are generally clothed in seal skins, and sometimes in the skins of fowls sewed together. Each coat has a hood like a capuchin. The coat is close, from the breast before, like a shirt, and reaches no lower than the middle of the thigh ; the breeches are close before and behind, and drawn round the waist with a string. They wear several pairs of boots and shoes, one over the other.

The dress of the women differs from that of the men, chiefly in having a narrow flap behind, depending to the heels. Their hoods are also larger, for the purpose of carrying their children at their backs, and their boots are also wider ; because when they want to put a child out of their arms, they slip it into one of their boots occasionally. Some few of them wear shifts of seals bladders, curiously joined. In general, their clothes are neatly sewed, which they perform with an ivory needle, and the sinews of deer, finely

finely divided. They discover much taste in facings and embroidery of different-coloured skins.

One of their most curious appendages, is their snow eyes. These are bits of wood or ivory, neatly contrived, to cover the organs of sight, and tied at the back of the head: in each piece are two narrow flits, of corresponding length with the eyes, through which they see very distinctly. This useful invention preserves them from being blinded with the glare of the snow, which is equally painful and inconvenient. The use too of these auxiliaries wonderfully strengthens the sight, and becomes so habitual, that when a distant object is to be viewed, these snow eyes are employed as telescopes.

The same spirit of invention is conspicuous in their fishing and fowling implements, and their military weapons are not contemptibly executed. In the management of their canoes, they are very dexterous. These are constructed in a manner very suitable to their occasions, easy of transportation, and quick in motion. Their frames are made of wood or whalebone, covered all over with seal-skin parchment, to prevent the water running in, except a hole in the middle, edged with whalebone, large enough to receive the steersman. In these boats they carry their little conveniencies for fishing or killing the large animals with which their seas abound. Their harpoons, used in striking whales, are headed and pointed with sea-horse teeth. To the barb is fastened a thong, at the extremity of which is a blown bladder, which serves as a buoy. When the whale is at last overcome and breathless, they tow him ashore, and strip him of the fat, which serves

serves both for food and light in their long wintry season.

The Esquimaux have likewise boats of a larger size and a different construction, generally rowed by women, and capable of carrying twenty persons.

The ships falling in with very large masses of ice, by the 17th, made fast to some of them, and filled the empty casks with fresh water out of the pools, generally found at this season in their cavities. Two days after, the ice parting, they proceeded under easy sail; and at length reached Marble Island, from which the long boats of each ship were sent by Captain Ellis, under the command of the mates, to make observations on the tides, and to collect such other lights as might facilitate the execution of the main design. Several considerable openings were discovered to the westward of the island; and it was found that the tide came from the north-east, the course of the coast.

A council being held on the 16th of August, it was agreed to defer any farther attempt at discovery till the ensuing summer, and to steer to Port Nelson, as being the most eligible situation in Hudson's Bay, both for the temperature of its climate and the abundance of its supplies.

The centre of Marble Island lies in 62 deg. 55 min. north latitude; and 92 deg. west longitude. Its greatest length is six leagues, and its common breadth is under one. At the western extremity the land is high, but sinks at the east. The land is one continued rock of a hard whitish marble, sprinkled with various coloured spots.

The tops of the hills exhibit a volcanic appearance, being rent and shattered in a surprising manner,

manner ; and from some of their caverns issues a noise resembling the rolling of waves. From the impregnated state of the water, it is probable that copper and other ores are lodged here. The valleys have a shallow soil of turf, but little herbage. The pools are covered with fowl of different kinds, and deer are pretty numerous. The only harbour is on the south-west part of the island, which though difficult of entrance, is capacious enough to contain one hundred sail.

The weather was very unfavourable during the passage to Port Nelson. They arrived in sight of the dangerous shoals of that river on the 25th of August ; and next day attempted to pass the flats of Hayes's river, which the *California* safely effected ; but the *Dobbs* ran aground, and had it blown hard, must have inevitably been lost. In this distressing situation, the Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company had the inhumanity to order the beacon to be cut down, that the captain of the *Dobbs* might be still more at a loss how to proceed, should the ship be got afloat. However, in spite of obstacles, the ship at last was safely anchored by her consort.

It being the intention of Captain Ellis to winter here, the boats of both ships were sent to examine the river, which is navigable for many leagues ; and has a communication with the Canadian lakes. Hence its advantageous situation for trade is apparent. Its banks are low, and covered with thick woods of spruce, fir, poplar, birch, larch, and willow ; and are well stocked with deer, hares, rabbits, and many valuable kinds of fowl.

As it was impossible to spend the winter in such a climate without making due preparations for

for encountering its severity, Captain Ellis now turned his attention to the best mode of fencing against its effects. The sailors were employed in the construction of log tents for themselves. These were made of trees, cut about sixteen feet long, raised close together, and meeting each other atop in an angle, like the roof of a house. The interstices between the logs were stuffed with moss, and the whole being plaistered over, made a comfortable hut. The door was low and small, and an aperture in the middle served as an outlet for the smoke.

These erections were soon dispatched; but something more commodious was wanted for the officers. A situation equally pleasant and convenient was chosen for their habitation. It was an eminence surrounded with trees; the main river distant about half a mile; and about one hundred and fifty yards from the front lay Beaver Creek, a handsome basin of water, which in prospect resembled a grand canal. The site was protected from the most inclement winds, by thick and lofty woods.

This spot being fixed on, Captain Ellis drew a plan of the intended mansion, which was approved. The house was twenty-eight feet long, and eighteen wide; it consisted of one story, the lower rooms six, and the upper seven feet high; the upper rooms were allotted to the captains and some of the principal officers, and the lower to the subalterns and servants. The door was in the middle of the front, and a stove was placed in the centre of the building, that every person might equally partake of its heat.

By the time that this structure was completed, Hayes's river was frozen quite hard; and the

early indications of what was to be expected from a Hudson's Bay river, began to appear. About the beginning of November, the ink froze by the fire, and the bottled beer, though well packed in tow, and in a warm situation, soon became a solid mass. On the 6th, the cold became insupportable abroad; and therefore both officers and men repaired to their respective winter quarters. The officers named their mansion Montague House, in honour of the Duke of Montague, one of the patrons of the expedition.

Before they left England, every provision had been made to have dresses suitable to the climate, and about this time, it became necessary to have recourse to them. The men, when equipped in their brumal garb, found themselves able to withstand the keenest cold; and having no other avocation, employed all their skill and industry in sporting. A good marksman sometimes killed sixty partridges in a day. Rabbits were caught in great numbers; and animals of the fur kind were taken by different lures. The beaver is commonly secured by nets. The value of its fur is well known; but it is less generally known, that the flesh is fat, and esteemed delicious.

During the month of November, when the wind blew from the south or west, the cold was very supportable; but on its changing to the northward, it immediately became excessively sharp, and was frequently attended by a kind of granulated snow, which drifting from the plains, filled up every path; and rendered it impossible to see at twenty yards distance.

The intensity of cold, however, was seldom felt here above four or five days in a month, and that generally about the full and change of the moon, which

which have a great influence on the weather in this quarter.

While rabbits and game were plentiful, little of the ship provisions were used. When the severity of the weather rendered sporting inconvenient, and animals began to shun the vicinity of their destroyers, provisions were weekly conveyed from the ships on sledges, drawn by men or dogs. The dogs in this country, indeed, are the only beasts of burden; they are about the size of mastiffs; they growl when provoked, but never bark; and are very docile and useful animals. They are capable of drawing more, and for a longer distance, than men; but require that their guides should beat a path for them with their snow shoes.

The festivities of Christmas were not neglected. During this period of mirth, Captain Moor proposed to lengthen, raise, and deck the long boat, to facilitate the attempts at discovery; and indeed without such an expedient, it would have been impossible to navigate creeks and shoals, where a communication was suspected. His plan was adopted; and the boat was placed in such a situation, that the carpenters might conveniently work on her, without interruption from the cold or change of the atmosphere.

The coasts of this country extend from 51 to 58 deg. north latitude, having Hudson's Bay to the east, and Canada to the south; but the boundaries to the west and north are not yet ascertained. In the southern parts, where Captain Ellis wintered, the soil is fertile, consisting of a loose dark mould, bedded in clay of different colours. In the proximity of the shore, the land is low and marshy, and covered with va-

rious trees: within land are extensive plains, principally covered with moss. There are a great variety of shrubs of the berry kind, and some plants of high medicinal repute. That which is known by the Indian name of Wizekapukka, is much esteemed, both by the natives and the English, as a sovereign remedy in nervous and scorbutic disorders. By the sides of the lakes and rivers, wild rice grows spontaneously, in large quantities. At the English factories horticulture has made considerable progress, and with no small success, considering the climate. Beans, peas, turnips, and several kinds of salad are produced in their gardens at Fort York, Albany, and Moose River.

Minerals are unquestionably numerous here. Captain Ellis met with iron ore, and copper. He found also talcs, spars, and rock crystals, both red and white, of great beauty. The asbestos, or stone-flax, is common here; as is also a black, smooth laminous stone, which easily separates into thin transparent leaves, and supplies the place of mirrors. The country likewise abounds with marble of several varieties.

Captain Ellis frequently observed parhelia, or mock suns, and halos about the sun and moon, extremely luminous, and beautifully tinged with all the colours of the rainbow. Six of these parhelia were seen at once. The true sun also rises and sets with a large cone of yellow light, perpendicular to the disk; and no sooner does he disappear, than the aurora borealis diffuses a thousand different lights and colours over the whole concavity of heaven, with such resplendent beauty, that even the full moon cannot eclipse their lustre.

The

The stars seem to burn with a fiery red, especially those which are near the horizon.

When the severity of winter had reached its greatest height, notwithstanding very large fires were constantly kept up, if a door or window was but opened, the external air rushing in, instantly converted the smoke and vapour into small snow; nor could the greatest heat that could be raised, keep the walls free from ice. The breath settled in a hoar frost upon the blankets; and whatever touched the walls, became congealed.

Strong brine, brandy, and even spirits of wine froze; the latter to a consistence like oil. All liquors under proof, became perfectly solid, and burst the vessels of whatever they were made. Game kept perfectly sweet, without the use of salt, from October till April; it froze the instant it was killed, and did not begin to melt during that long interval.

Naturalists need not be told that in this country, hares, rabbits, and partridges assume the colour of snow in winter; and that Providence has furnished the animals with extraordinary furs, to resist the cold, which fall off as the warm weather advances.

In touching iron, or any smooth, solid surface, it was usual for the fingers to be frozen to it. If in drinking brandy or other liquor, the tongue or lips were suffered to come in close contact with the glass, the skin was usually left upon it. One of the sailors, carrying a bottle of spirits from Montague house to his log tent, having lost the cork, stopped it with his finger; but when he wished to withdraw it, found it impossible; and he was obliged to lose a joint, to make the cure practicable. Even solid bodies acquired such a

of cold as to resist the effects of heat for a considerable time. An axe, long exposed to the frost, on being brought close to the fire, and having water poured upon it, has been instantly formed into a cake of ice.

The beer casks were buried twelve feet deep in the earth, and well bedded in grass; yet some of them were frozen and burst. Others again were found to contain a solid mass of ice, of some thickness from their sides; the spirituous part of the liquor being driven to the centre, where it remained fluid, and acquired an extraordinary degree of strength.

From this description, it might be supposed, that this country was the most uncomfortable in the world, and the inhabitants the most unhappy; but this is far from being the case. Wherever man is placed, he has conveniences suited to his condition and his nature; and the natives of the hyperborean regions have their share of enjoyments as well as those who are denizens of the most favoured climes.

The natives of this country are of the middle stature, their eyes and hair are black, and their complexion copper coloured. In disposition they are cheerful, good humoured, affable, friendly, and honest in their transactions.

In the warm season, the men wear a loose dress of coarse blanketing, and leather stockings, which reach so high as to supply the place of breeches. The habit of the women differs chiefly from that of the men in a short petticoat. The winter dress is made of furs, in which the country abounds.

Removed from luxuries, their diseases are few, except those introduced by drinking; and this
has

has had such a deleterious effect on the inhabitants, who are within the reach of the English settlements, that their very looks, size, and activity are diminished by it. The French refuse to sell any liquors to them; and such as trade with them are distinguished, in consequence of this salutary forbearance, by vigour and industry; which redounds at once to the credit and advantage of that nation.

They live in circular tents, covered with moose and rein deer skins sewed together; and as their time is chiefly spent in hunting, fowling, and fishing, they change their residence according as circumstances operate on the plenty or scarcity of their game. In their behaviour, they are influenced by the principles of a natural rectitude, which restrains them from flagrant vices more strongly than the most rigorous laws.

The chiefs of every family or tribe are generally those who are most celebrated for experience and venerable for age; but their commands are rather obeyed through deference than obligation, and their power is supported by love, unaided by the engines of fear.

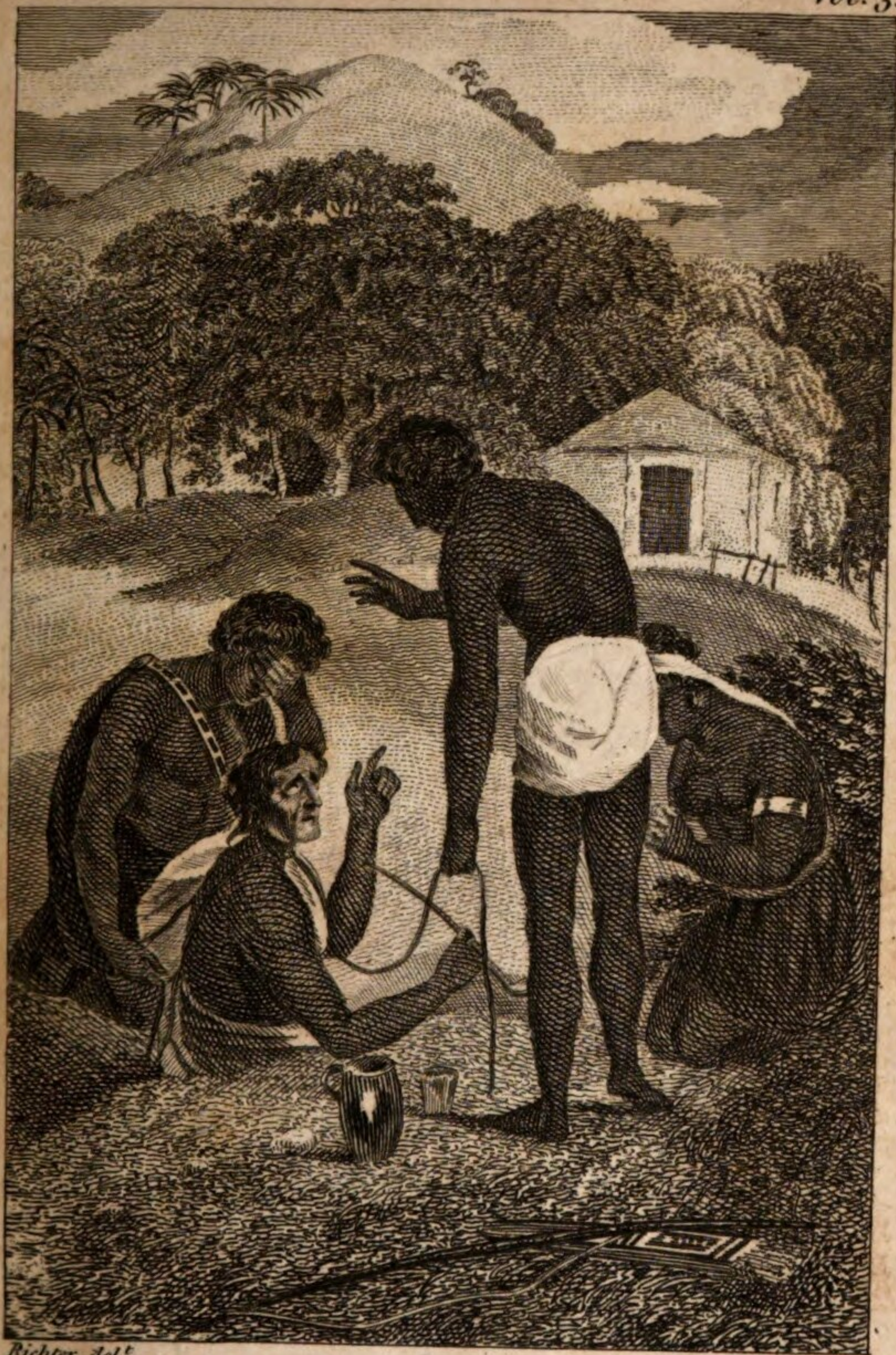
As these people place no dependence for support on the fruits of the earth, agriculture is almost unknown; and their principle activity is displayed in hunting, which is both the source of subsistence and of wealth. Every season they make a prodigious slaughter of the deer, from the absurd belief, that the more they destroy, the greater plenty will succeed. Hence they frequently kill them for no other purpose than to answer this fancied purpose, and to feast on their tongues, which are esteemed the greatest dainties.

On migratory birds, such as swans, geese, and ducks, they make great havoc; and likewise feed freely on the stationary fowls of the country. They generally boil the flesh, and eat it by itself; drinking the water in which it is sodden, which is reputed wholesome. In a similar manner they dress and eat their fish.

The rivers and lakes are stored with sturgeon, pike, and trout; besides two delicious kinds of fish, one called titymag, the other muthoy. The latter is spotted with yellow and white; and in shape resembles an eel. At the estuaries of rivers are plenty of salmon, and a fish resembling a carp.

The customs of these Indians are not very gallant. It is reckoned a high affront for a woman to step over the legs of a man; nor will they deign to drink out of the same vessel with their wives. Every country has its peculiar absurdities; and when these do not run counter to humanity and morals, they are at least venial. One custom, however, we must notice with horror and execration. When parents become enfeebled by age, and unable to support themselves, it is esteemed an act of duty in their children to strangle them. This shocking rite of savage duty is performed in the following manner; The old person's grave is dug, into which he voluntarily descends; and after smoking a pipe, or perhaps drinking a dram or two, and conversing with his children, he intimates that he is ready to submit to his fate. On this two of them put a thong about this neck, and standing on opposite sides of the grave, pull violently, till he is strangled. They then cover him with earth, and erect a rude monument of stones over the spot.

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Richter del.

T. Cook sculp

*The Children of an Ancient Indian,
performing the last Offices.*

Page 44

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Such old people as have no children, require this last office from the hands of their friends; and it is thought uncharitable to refuse them. In a country where labour is essentially necessary for individual subsistence, and where the mild precepts of a benevolent religion are unknown, it is not much to be wondered at, that an useless or overgrown population should be esteemed a misfortune. For this reason, they cruelly oblige their women to procure abortions, when their family is likely to be too numerous. Shocking as this practice must appear to every humane mind, it is mercy itself, compared to the barbarous custom, still prevalent among the civilized Chinese, of exposing their children.

Their religion consists in the belief of a Being of infinite goodness, whom they style Ukkewma, the author of all their blessings, in whose honour they sing hymns of praise. They also acknowledge another being, whom they call Wiltikka, the source of evil; and therefore the object of terror.

Though constant toil is necessary to sustain life, they have very little foresight, and generally wanton away the happy days of summer in a gay indifference. Thus winter often finds them unprovided with any stores, save a little dried venison and fish. Comforts are doled out to them with such a frugal hand, that they seem determined to lose no present enjoyment by the painful anticipation of the future.

The Indians who resort to the European factories in summer, for the purposes of traffic, are sometimes in their journies reduced to the miserable expedient of singeing off the fur from their skins, and feeding on the leather. But amidst these
extre-

extremities, they preserve a degree of equanimity, which it is much easier to admire than to imitate.

Cold, severe as it is, in these long migrations, when undertaken in winter, is sometimes the slightest evil they experience. A story is related at the factories, and known to be true, which curdles the blood with horror. An Indian coming from a great distance to trade, had the misfortune to meet with little game by the way, and was soon, with his wife and children, reduced to the last distress. They plucked the fur from their clothes; and as long as they were able, preserved life by feeding on the skins; but this wretched resource failing, they were driven to the dreadful expedient of devouring two of their helpless children. On their arrival at the factory, the distracted Indians, whose hearts were torn with anguish, told this melancholy tale with all its affecting circumstances to the English governor; who, to the disgrace of his nation, and even of human nature itself, received it with a loud laugh. The unhappy parent, with looks of amazement, mingled with contempt, exclaimed in broken English, "This is no laughing talk!" and instantly retired, to vent the feelings of humanity.

To return to the affairs of the expedition. Christmas, it has been observed, was joyfully solemnized, and mirth unfortunately was mixed with intemperance. The men, who till now had been very healthy, by indulging too freely in the use of spirituous liquors, were soon invaded by the scurvy. The usual antidotes proved ineffectual; and tar-water, at that time in vogue, was found to be the only powerful and salutary medicine.

The

The English, who generally reside here, are little affected by this cruel disease, which they attribute chiefly to the constant use of spruce beer.

The whole month of January was unremittingly severe. Towards the middle of February, the weather began to relax a little; and about the conclusion of that month, orders were given to cut the ice round the ships, which was performed with chissels and pickaxes. The guns and weighty articles were now landed, that the ships might float the easier, as soon as the ice broke. March afforded a variety of weather: the snow melted in a sunny exposure; and towards the end of that month, some herbage began to peep out on banks fronting the south. The rivers and plains began to be covered with water; and the commanders had some apprehensions that the ships might be endangered by a sudden thaw; to prevent which, every precaution was used, and a sufficient number of men, with proper officers, were put on board. But April opened in such a manner as allayed their fears in this respect. The ice gradually melted away; and abundance of wild fowl revisited their forsaken haunts. Flights of small birds made their appearance. Their plumage indeed was not very beautiful; but the harmony of their notes enlivened the gloomy scene.

The weather, however, was alternately sharp, stormy, and moderate, without settling till about the 6th of May; when it became temperate, and the creek where the ships lay, imperceptibly free from ice. The long boat, which by way of distinction, was called the Resolution, being equipped in the style intended, was now launched; and
on

on the 9th of June, the ships fell down the river as far as the factory of York Fort, in order to proceed to sea.

York Fort is situated on the southern branch of Port Nelson river, in a small plain, environed on three sides by woods, but open to the water. To the savages it has a formidable appearance; but would not be tenable against a regular attack.

On the 24th of June, Captain Ellis weighed anchor, and passing the shoals, stood to the northward with a fair wind. The next day they fell in with much broken ice; but avoided the most dangerous masses, by keeping close in with the shore.

The succeeding day, the Resolution came along side of the Dobbs, and took in sufficient stores for the use of ten men for two months; when Captains Ellis and Moor went on board, in order to examine the coasts. The Dobbs was ordered to wait at Marble Island, till joined by the Resolution.

Captain Ellis now proceeded along the north shore, through much broken ice; and saw small parties of the Esquimaux on the eminences, making signals to approach; but not wishing to stop, he sailed on to Knight's Island, in latitude 62 deg. 2 min. north, where he anchored.

Soon weighing from thence, he endeavoured to stand in with the western shore, where a large opening appeared; but the weather growing tempestuous, and the ice driving about in large fragments, it was found necessary to return to Knight's Island. On the 5th of July, the sea became much clearer; and two canoes came off, and being informed that whalebone was wanted, they

they soon brought a large quantity of that commodity, and many bladders filled with train oil. The whalebone was speedily purchased with hatchets, knives, and bits of iron hoops; but as the oil was too cumbrous, it was rejected on any terms.

A circumstance happened here which filled Captain Ellis and company with astonishment. In sailing through the ice among the islands that were scattered in that quarter, the needles lost their magnetic power; and, on being touched with an artificial magnet, soon again lost the influence they had acquired. This phenomenon occasioned much speculation; however, the compasses being carried to a warm place, quickly resumed their polarity.

The captain again attempted to enter the opening before noticed; but the ice driving backwards and forwards with much violence, prevented his approach. Here six canoes brought off a cargo of whalebone, which was purchased on very advantageous terms.

The Resolution next steered to the north-west; and surmounting several difficulties, entered Nevill's Bay. On repassing some shoals, with an intention to coast to the northward, the tide swept the vessel on a ride of rocks, where she narrowly escaped being dashed in pieces. While in this perilous situation, several Indian canoes came off with whalebone, which was exchanged for the usual articles. The Esquimaux perceived the distress of the Resolution; but, far from taking any advantage of it, they rendered Captain Ellis essential service, by conducting him through the shoals into deep water. This tribute of praise is

due to these people; as they were the probable instruments of saving the party from destruction.

Captain Ellis does justice to the industry and ingenuity of these Indians, which he exemplifies in the mode of preparing their harpoons, their hatchets, and their knives, from stones, sea-horse teeth, and sea-unicorns horns. In dress, they considerably differ from those about Port Nelson; though there is a strong coincidence in language, features, and customs. The women have a ghastly appearance, as they wear their hair over their eyes, and a cap of buffaloes skin, to prevent the attacks of the musketoes, which are here excessively troublesome. Train oil is the favourite beverage of these people; and it seems congenial to the climate, and salutary to health. In the rocky and remote island of St. Kilda, on the coast of Scotland, the natives delight in the oil drawn from the fat of Soland geese, which is nearly as rancid. In a rigorous climate, a greasy kind of food seems most natural; and Providence furnishes it in most abundance; in a warm climate, drying aliment and drink is most plentiful and most esteemed.

The manner in which these Indians kindle a fire, is very curious. They prepare two pieces of dry wood, and making a small hole in each, fit into them a little cylindrical piece of wood, round which they twist a thong; then pulling the ends of this thong, they whirl the cylinder about with such velocity, that the motion sets the wood on fire, which they feed with a little dry moss, in lieu of tinder.

These poor creatures appeared to have no tincture of jealousy, and made some overtures in regard

gard to their wives, which decency forbids us to mention. But it seems they were actuated by motives not easily accounted for. They acknowledge the superiority of the Europeans; and imagine, in the most literal sense, that every being begets his likeness; and that the son of a captain must infallibly be a captain also.

On the 9th of July they anchored at Sea-Horse Island, so called from the immense number of those animals that resort thither. This being the season of propagation, they were extremely furious, and roared in a terrible manner.

Next day they stood along shore, among small islands, and floating ice, till they arrived at Whale Cove, in latitude 62 deg. 30 min. north. To the westward of this place, they discovered a bay with many islands, from which they were visited by a few Indians.

On one of these islands, Captains Ellis and Moor landed, where they were met by several women and children, the men being engaged in fishing. Ascending the highest ground, they looked out for some considerable opening, but in vain; and observing the tide came in from the eastward, they were convinced that none existed thereabout.

The following day, they discovered a large opening running to the westward, to which Captain Ellis gave the appellation of Corbet's Inlet; but observing the tide still flowing from the eastward, they did not think it necessary to enter it. After a short intercourse with the Esquimaux, and taking in fresh water, they resolved to return to the ships, which they found safe at Marble Island.

In the absence of this reconnoitering party, the Dobbs galley had been exposed to much danger from the ice, near Rankin's inlet; into which place Captain Smith had sent a boat on discovery; but, after sailing about thirty leagues, it was found to terminate in a bay.

The morning that the Resolution joined, Captain Smith, of the California, had sent his long boat, under the command of his second mate, to search the coast between Cape Jalabert and Cape Fullerton.

While the ships remained here, they were visited by a few Esquimaux; but a great gun being fired at their departure, re-echoed in such a dreadful manner from the neighbouring rocks, as frightened them from returning again.

On the 14th, they weighed and steered to the northward, dispatching the Resolution to make the same tour that had been proposed for the California's long boat, with instructions to join about Cape Fullerton. Next day they fell in with such shoals of ice, that it was found impossible to proceed. Two days after, the ice parted; and the ships, by keeping near the shore, evaded it.

As the boats did not join so soon as was expected, it was determined to go in quest of them. Accordingly the California stood to the south, and the Dobbs to the north. Meanwhile Captain Ellis went ashore in the pinnace, near a headland which he named Cape Fry, in latitude 64 deg. 32 min. The tide here came from the north. The coast was of an easy ascent, but rose pretty high. The hills appeared of a reddish rock, and entirely bare. The vallies were covered with a shallow turf, and here and there
some

some plants were seen; among the rest a vetch in bloom. Considerable numbers of deer were seen browsing on the sides of the hills. The sea-weeds were of an extraordinary luxuriance; which was the more remarkable, as there were few vegetables on shore.

After pursuing different routes, to find the boats sent out on discovery, Captain Ellis, in the Dobbs, arrived at Cape Fry, without making any important remarks; and had the satisfaction to find the California in company with the two boats, of which they had been in quest. The officers on board them reported, that they found an inlet in latitude 64 deg. north, upwards of three leagues wide at the entrance; but, upon sailing farther, it became six or seven leagues broad. In less than twenty leagues from its mouth, it again narrowed to four leagues; but though they could perceive the shores open again, they were discouraged from proceeding farther, by observing, that the water, by degrees, became more turbid, shallow, and fresh. In their passage, they fell in with numerous Esquimaux, who supplied them with venison on the easiest terms.

Captain Ellis observes, "that it is highly probable this inlet may have some communication with the great lake within land, which may, perhaps, have another outlet into the Western Ocean". An opinion unconfirmed by subsequent discoveries.

The ships being near Wager's Straight, and absolutely certain, that the tide in the Welcome came from the north, the captains, considering the warm dispute to which this had given rise, between Mr. Dobbs and Captain Middleton, re-

solved to try whether it was really a straight in the Western Ocean, as the former of those gentleman had concluded; or a fresh-water river, as the latter had asserted,

Wager's Straight, as it was then called, is in 65 deg. 33 min. north latitude, and in 88 deg. west longitude from London. The narrowest part of this channel is about five leagues to the westward of Cape Dobbs; and there the tide flows with uncommon rapidity. While the ships were in this place, the mariners had little control over them; for the strength of the current carried the California four or five times round, in spite of all the efforts of the crew. The water raged, foamed, boiled, and whirled about like a great torrent, broken by many rocks, in a manner both awful and surprising.

Having passed Savage Sound, the navigation became more safe and easy. On the 30th, Captain Ellis was off Deer Sound, and soon anchored in Douglas Harbour.

After mooring the ships, a council was held on board the Dobbs, in which it was unanimously agreed, that the ships should remain in their present station, while the boats should proceed up the straight as far as possible, to determine its nature and extent; and to prevent the ships being detained too long in this inhospitable coast, it was fixed that they should sail for England on the 25th of August, whether the boats returned or not.

In pursuance of these resolutions, the captains sailed, with proper officers and mariners, in the boats of their respective ships, on the last day of July, with a favouring gale. Towards night, they were alarmed by a very loud noise, resembling

resembling the sound of an immense cataract; but not being able to discover the cause, they judged it prudent to come to an anchor, and to land, to reconnoitre.

A party having with difficulty ascended some eminences on shore, found it so dark that they were obliged to return without making any discoveries.

In ascending these rocky mountains, the prospect was as gloomy and as grand as ever was seen by mortal eyes. While they walked along the beach, the pendant rocks seemed ready to fall on their heads; and the water dashing from cliff to cliff, made a horrid noise. The shore was strewn with fragments of rocks, torn from the mountain tops, by the expansive power of frost; and many masses hung in such a form, as if every moment ready to tumble into the plain.

The tremendous noise, and the uncertainty of its cause, rendered the night tedious and restless. Early in the morning, Captain Ellis went on shore again, and soon discovered that the astounding noise was occasioned by the tide being confined in a passage, not more than sixty yards wide, where the volume of water and its rapidity were exceeding great. This barrier is about one hundred and fifty miles from the entrance of the straight; and beyond it, Captain Ellis observed, that it opened to five or six miles in width, to the westward; which still gave the hopes of a communication.

Having passed the fall with less difficulty than was expected from its appearance at ebb; they found the shores on both sides very steep, and no ground to be felt with a line of one hundred and forty fathoms. Here some of the natives
visited

visited them, and brought dried venison and other provisions, to exchange for European commodities.

Seals and white whales were still numerous; but the water freshening, most of the company were discouraged, and began to lose the hopes of finding this the communication they expected. On the evening of the 3d of August, their apprehensions were realized: the water all at once became shoaly; and, on examination, they had the mortification to find that the fancied passage terminated in two small unnavigable rivers, one of which plainly issued from a large lake on the south-west.

While they remained at this place, several canoes came off with deer and buffaloes flesh, and some dried salmon, which were readily purchased. Captain Ellis encouraged these people to bring more supplies; and, by way of curiosity, purchased whatever they offered for sale. Having ingratiated himself with them, he endeavoured to obtain some intelligence with respect to another sea, which he strove to suggest to them might lie to the westward; and to make them comprehend his meaning, chalked out a rude draught of the coast, in hopes they would have continued it; but, to his disappointment, he found they had not the least conception of such a sea.

Among the Indians, who visited the English here, was a person, who, though he used the same language and dress, was of a fairer complexion, and, from his ignorance of the management of a canoe, was evidently of another nation. Captain Ellis supposing he might be a slave, sent Mr. Thompson, the surgeon, to try to redeem him; but the natives, though in every other

other negotiation, they were friendly and easy, rejected the overture in such a manner, as manifested their disapprobation.

On the 4th of August, the boats weighed, and began to measure back their course to the ships. The wind being contrary and high, they took shelter for some hours in a cove under the south shore. That night the California's boat lost a man; who was unfortunately knocked overboard by the sudden shifting of the mainsail. On the 6th, they repassed the fall, and next day reached the ships.

A council was immediately held to receive the report, and Mr. Thompson, the surgeon, intimating the possibility of a passage towards the north shore, which the wind and weather had prevented them from approaching sufficiently near, in the late expedition; it was agreed that another attempt should be made, and that no probable communication should be left unexplored.

Accordingly, Captain Ellis, attended by the surgeon, and a few more, set out in the Resolution, to obtain satisfaction on this point. In their passage they saw many whales and seals; but soon found themselves embayed by the coast and islands, and were convinced that no navigable opening existed. Again frustrated in their expectations, they returned to the ships, after no more than one day's absence.

On the 15th of August, they left Douglas Harbour; and in the Narrows, entering the Wager, were detained by a flood tide for several hours. On the 17th, being in the Welcome, near Low Breach, it was proposed to go thither and try the tide. Accordingly, Captain Ellis
and

and the chief mate, with some hands, set out in a boat for that purpose; but the time of high water being past before they could reach the shore, and darkness setting in, it was necessary to wait the return of the tide, to execute the commission with any certainty. For some hours the Dobbs continued firing signal guns; but either the wind or the tide driving her to the northward, by day break she was both out of sight and out of hearing.

The business, on which Captain Ellis went, being accomplished, and the direction of the tide being ascertained to come from the north, he next began to consider how to get on board. Having lost sight of the ship; not knowing what course to steer to recover her; the wind beginning to blow fresh; and the snow to fall, were circumstances of terror that could not fail to make a strong impression on the minds of the most resolute.

In this situation, so unexpected and so alarming, Captain Ellis exerted himself to the utmost, to encourage his people; and set before them every stimulus to endeavour, and every danger of relaxation. To regain the ship was the only chance of preservation; they had scarcely a day's provisions aboard; and neither man nor beast was to be found on this inhospitable coast.

Putting to sea, and straining every nerve, to their unspeakable joy, about twelve leagues from the shore, they espied the ships, and providential it was for them that they did so; for the wind and sea soon rose so high, and the weather became so thick and dark, that they must inevitably have perished in the boat.

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On the 19th they turned the Resolution adrift, and agreed to bear away for England. On the 29th they entered Hudson's Straights, and enjoyed pleasant weather till the 3d of September, when it began to alter infinitely for the worse. Thick and noisome fogs were prevalent; and perhaps this disposition of the air made the crews relapse into the scurvy, from which they had been for some time exempted. This was the more unfortunate, on account of the dangerous navigation of those seas, arising from the narrowness of the straights, the want of soundings, the floating mountains of ice, and the dismal darkness of the atmosphere. Terrific, however, as a combination of such circumstances must be, a constant watch and strict discipline are generally found to prevent any serious dangers; and hence the Hudson's Bay ships make their annual voyages with as few disasters as those which navigate the most placid seas.

A prodigious rippling of the sea, occasioned by the tide setting strongly against a fresh wind, convinced them that they were near the Isles of Resolution. Here several mountains of Ice hove in sight; but as the ships were rapidly advancing to a warmer climate, these were soon left behind.

A dreadful storm overtook them on the 12th, in which considerable damage was sustained; and the California was separated from the Dobbs, and did not rejoin her till after she reached Carstown, in the Island of Pomona.

After refreshing in this harbour for a week, they continued their course for England, and arrived safe in Yarmouth Roads, on the 14th of
1 October;

October; having been absent from thence one year, four months, and seventeen days.

Thus ended a voyage which had raised the expectations of all the maritime countries of Europe, and left them disappointed. It, however, terminated the dispute from which this expedition originated; and it has satisfied the most prejudiced, that, should a passage actually exist, it will never be found useful for any commercial purposes.

VOYAGES

VOYAGES OF
CAPTAIN WILLIAM DAMPIER,
ROUND THE WORLD, &c.

BEFORE we enter on the life and adventures of Dampier, it may be necessary to give a short history of the Buccaneers, a description of men with whom he was closely connected, and with whom he associated too long.

No sooner had the Spaniards possessed themselves of the rich and fertile provinces of South America, than predatory expeditions were fitted out against them, by individuals, belonging to those nations, with whom they were at war. This, as we have observed on another occasion, was the cheap and disgraceful mode of annoying an enemy; and governments, during the last and preceding centuries, were not sufficiently enlightened, or sufficiently honest, to withhold their sanction from a species of piratical warfare, in the plunder of which they frequently participated.

Though we have still to lament the prevalence of devastation, arising from mad ambition or accursed avarice, we must do the age we live in the justice, to allow, that war is stripped of many of its former horrors; and that a sense of moral rectitude and honourable sentiment is visible in its most dreadful operations among civilized nations. A just discrimination is now

established between the voluntary criminal, and the implicated innocent ; and the contentions of sovereigns, though often fatal to the public, under the present system of things, are seldom extended to private property.

But the buccaneers did not always confine themselves to revenge the wrongs of their country, by every means of pillage : they frequently, in defiance of legal power, carried desolation over seas and shores, stimulated by the lust of gain alone, and therefore, could only rank with pirates of the worst class, and of the most abandoned principles. Regardless of the interests or rights of nations, during profound peace between governments, they sometimes exercised hostilities to an extent unjustifiable, where open enmity is avowed.

This class of men, who once made some figure in naval history, was generally composed of such as were low in their origin, or ruined in their fortunes ; and they were more distinguished for the mischief they did, than for the advantages they individually reaped from their lawless pursuits. What they rapidly acquired, they profligately spent ; and if they did not always quarrel among themselves about the distribution of the plunder, they seldom reposed longer from outrage than they could squander away, in wanton folly, what they had gained at the risk of their lives.

Captain William Dampier, who is deeply implicated in these censures, was descended from a reputable family in Somersetshire, where he was born in 1652. His parents, it seems, were not opulent ; but during their life-time, which was short, they gave their son such an education, as was thought requisite to qualify him for ordinary trade.

trade. He had the misfortune to lose them both while he was very young; nor do we find on whom the care of his juvenile years devolved. Early, however, he gave indications of a roving disposition and a fondness for sea. In compliance with this humour, he was bound, about the year 1669, to the master of a ship at Weymouth, with whom he made a voyage to France the same year; and, in the following, went in the same service to Newfoundland. The severity of that climate, and the hardships he had endured, cooled a little his youthful fervor; and, on his return from Newfoundland, he visited his friends in the country, and appeared to have lost much of his eagerness for a maritime life.

His native propensity, however, soon returned; and, on his hearing that a ship was speedily to sail from the port of London for the East Indies, he repaired to town, and entered himself as a common mariner. In this situation, he made a voyage to Bantam; and returned much improved in naval experience and general knowledge. He arrived in England in January 1672; and soon after, retired to his brother's house in Somersetshire, where he remained the following summer.

Next year he entered on board the *Prince Royal*, commanded by the famous Sir Edward Spragge, and was present in two engagements against the Dutch; but falling sick, was put on board an hospital ship a few days before the last battle, in which his brave commander fell.

Having recovered his health, he revisited his native country, where he fell in company with Colonel Hellier, a gentleman, who had a large plantation in Jamaica; and by him, Dampier

was engaged to go out as superintendent of his West India property. In this service, he sailed from the Thames in the spring of 1674, and resided some months in Jamaica; but disliking the employment he filled, at the persuasion of Captain Hodsell, he enlisted himself among the log cutters; and in this capacity embarked for the Bay of Campeachy. Here he exerted his usual activity; and underwent many and severe hardships, before he could return to Jamaica, which he did about the close of 1675.

In the February following, he returned to Campeachy with greater prospects of advantage; and making himself perfectly master of the business in which he was engaged, began to form some projects of advancing his fortune, as a trader in logwood. This, however, made it necessary for him to revisit England, where he landed in 1678. During his continuance in the Bay of Campeachy, he had been introduced to the acquaintance of some buccaneers, which, probably, led him afterwards to embrace a kind of life, of which, it is certain, at a future period, he was very much ashamed. Hence he has concealed or palliated many circumstances in his adventures, that he conceived were injurious to his reputation.

Dampier, however, did not at once abandon his original scheme of following the trade of a log cutter; and with this view, he sailed to Jamaica in 1679; but for reasons unknown, changed his resolution of settling at Campeachy; and investing the property he had acquired, in a small estate in Dorsetshire, agreed to take a trip to the continent with a friend, Mr. Hobby, before his return to his native land.

Soon

Soon after setting out, Captain Hobby came to an anchor in Nigral Bay, in Jamaica, where Captains Coxon, Sawkins, Sharpe, and other buccaneers were then lying. Hobby's men, dazzled with the prospect of greater gain, deserted him, and entered on board these vessels; and Dampier, finding that his solitary assistance could not much avail his friend, at last consented to take a part in the same expedition.

They first proceeded against Porto Bello, where meeting with success, they took the resolution of crossing the Isthmus of Darien, in order to pursue their predatory designs in the South Seas. Captain Sawkins, being chosen their leader, the buccaneers, to the number of three or four hundred men, marched towards Santa Martha on the Pacific Ocean, which they took without much difficulty; but were disappointed in the rich spoils they expected; and in consequence, quarrelled with one another, and in the event parted company.

As the design upon Panama was viewed in a favourable light by several in this fraternity, a body of them went forward, and made an attack on Puebla Nova, in which they were defeated, and Sawkins killed; while Coxon and others proceeded to the North Seas, and there continued their depredations.

After the death of Sawkins, Captain Sharpe was promoted to the command; but the company, who assumed a paramount authority, soon displaced him, and chose Captain Watling in his room. Under this officer, an attempt was made on Arica, which proved unfortunate, and the new commander fell in the action.

As the buccaneers began to be sensible, that without subordination, all their schemes would prove abortive, they proceeded to another election ; when it appeared, that there were two factions, irreconcilably bent on submitting to a different commander. Another separation was thus inevitable ; and on putting it to the decision of the lots, which party should retain the ship, that to which Dampier adhered proved unfortunate, and Captain Sharpe obtained the prize.

On the 17th of April 1681, the disappointed faction, without acknowledging any commander, resolved to prosecute their design of repassing the Isthmus, though they were but forty-seven men in all ; and their artificial force and provisions very slender. This is one of the boldest undertakings ever projected by desperate men. Beginning their journey over land on the 1st of May, in the space of twenty-two days they accomplished their purpose, without any considerable loss. In their progress they passed over lofty mountains, travelled through unfrequented vales, and forded or swam across deep and dangerous rivers, with undaunted resolution.

It is a common remark, that particular powers lie dormant in the mind and body of man, which can only be called forth on particular conjunctures. And never was this observation more fully verified than in the case of these people, who, on a hostile shore, unfurnished with adequate resources, and apparently desolate and forsaken, were yet able to effectuate a passage, which scarcely any set of men, on the principles of mature and deliberate reason, would ever have thought of undertaking.

Having

Having reached the north shore, they immediately embarked on board the ship of Captain Tristrian, a Frenchman; and within two days joined eight other buccaneering vessels. These adventurers had it in contemplation to attempt another expedition, over land, to Panama; but the danger of such an undertaking being fully and fairly represented to them, they abandoned this design; and proceeded to make an attack on Spanish Town, lying on Carpenter's River; for which purpose, the ships successively sailed.

That which carried Dampier arriving at the place of rendezvous, found an English captain there, of the name of Wright, who had lately taken a Spanish tartan, part of a squadron of small frigates, that had been in quest of the pirates. Dampier and his friends joined in requesting him to fit out this tartan for them, which desire was granted, on condition of their acting under his command. As the remainder of the fleet did not arrive at the appointed time, it was concluded, that they had been either taken or dispersed by the enemy. Impressed with this belief, they felt themselves at liberty to pursue their own particular designs. Accordingly, Captain Wright stood for Carthagena; and being joined by Captain Yankey, they took a prize laden with sugar and tobacco.

The booty being divided, the captains again parted; Wright standing towards the Caracca coast, where he took three barks. Captain Yankey had one Cooke for his quarter-master, who, according to the buccaneer regulations, was second in command; and having taken a Spanish prize, Cooke obtained the ship; and all who were inclined, were free to join him.

After

After a variety of accidents and dissensions among the commanders, who were jealous of each other, Dampier, and about twenty men, obtained one of the barks captured by Captain Wright, and sailed for Virginia; where he fell in with the above-mentioned Captain Cooke, who was an old acquaintance, and whose fortunes he resolved to follow. Dampier had sufficient address to bring over most of his companions to the same resolution, to the great satisfaction of the commander, in whose interest he had engaged.

After these desultory expeditions, in which we have seen Dampier was concerned, he now became more stationary; and the history he has given of himself regularly commences at this period.

Captain Cooke sailed from Achamack, in Virginia, on the 23d of August 1683; and steered his course for the Cape Verd Islands. In his passage, he encountered a violent storm of eight days duration; but escaped without any material damage.

Having refreshed at Cape Verd, they proceeded to the Isle of Sal, a miserable spot, chiefly celebrated for its salt ponds; and from thence to Mayo. Here the inhabitants studiously avoided any intercourse with them; and, thus being disappointed in their expected supplies, they touched on the African coasts.

After laying in a stock of provisions, they determined to pass the Straights of Magellan. A contrary wind obliged them to double Cape Horn; and scarcely had they passed this, when they experienced a succession of storms, which lasted nearly three weeks, without abatement. However, on the 17th of March, they found themselves

themselves in latitude 48 deg. south ; and two days after, descried a ship, which, at first, they took for a Spaniard, but afterwards found she belonged to their own country, and was commanded by Captain Eaton. These vessels proceeded in company to the Isle of Juan Fernandez.

No sooner had Captain Cooke moored there, than Dampier, recollecting that a Moskito man had accidentally been left on that island in 1681, when he sailed with Captain Watling, eagerly got on shore, with a view of rescuing this unhappy person, should he still be alive ; and full of curiosity to know his adventures.

This poor fellow, it seems, felt no less anxiety to obtain some intelligence of his friends, when he perceived that the ships, which were approaching his solitary domain, belonged to England. In hopes that they would come to an anchor there, he had busied himself in killing three goats, and collecting greens, to entertain the crews, as soon as he was able to ascertain to what country the ships belonged. He was ready on the beach before the vessels could be well secured ; and one of his countrymen being on board, it is impossible to describe the lively emotions of joy they felt, at this accidental interview.

The Moskito man on board had obtained the name of Robin ; his countryman on the island was named Will. They embraced each other with the most affectionate show of regard ; and the surprize, the tenderness, and the solemnity of the meeting excited correspondent feelings in the bosoms of the whole company, who, from professional habits, were not much inclined to give way to sensibility.

When

When Dampier came up, Will was no less transported to see him than his countryman, but he expressed it in another manner. He had the happiness, too, to find other friends among the crew ; and a meeting, so unexpected, was to the highest degree grateful to all. The Moskitos, indeed, were universal favourites among the buccaneers, from the alacrity they always shewed to engage in their expeditions, and the prompt services they rendered on ship board.

Ceremonies of congratulation being past, Will was interrogated in what manner he had spent his time, and what adventures he had run through on the island. He informed them, that the Spaniards had several times been in quest of him, knowing he had been left there ; but that, by constant vigilance, and occupying a safe retreat, they had never been able to find him. When left, he had in his possession a gun, a knife, a small quantity of powder, and a few shot. This ammunition being expended, he contrived a way, by notching his knife, to saw the barrel of his gun into small pieces, of which he afterwards formed, by infinite labour, a complete set of implements for catching his prey, both by sea and land. The ingenuity he had displayed in the manufacture of his different instruments, astonished every person ; but it seems, that ingenuity is natural to the inhabitants of the Moskito shore ; and their ignorance of arts is abundantly supplied by the fertility of their inventions.

Will had erected a hut about a mile and a half from the shore, which he had curiously lined with goat-skins. He had likewise constructed a couch about two feet high, which he had rendered

dered soft and easy with the fur of beasts, and the tender plumage of birds.

Clothes he had none remaining. What he had on his back, at the time he was deserted by his companions, were soon worn out, or torn among the brambles, through which he pursued his prey. During the space of nearly three years, he had not conversed with any human being; and though he had seen Spaniards, he took care they should never see him.

The buccaneers left this island on the 8th of April, and then sailed towards the equinoctial. It is almost needless to say, that they received poor Will on board, with mutual satisfaction; he happy to be restored to human society, the crew pleased to gain an accession to their numbers.

On the 3d of May, they took a ship laden with timber; and at the same time gained information, that the Spaniards were apprized of their being in the South Seas; and that they had made some preparations for their reception.

Depending on the intelligence received from their prisoners, relative to the state of the coast, they thought of attacking Truxillo; but afterwards capturing some vessels laden with flour for Lima, they found a letter on board one of the prizes, from which they learned, that this city was put into a state of defence. In consequence of this, they abandoned their design, and sailed for the Gallipagos Islands, where they laid up five hundred sacks of meal for a sea-store; and regaled themselves with the turtle abounding on the coasts.

Their next destination was Ria Lexa, where they were flattered with the hopes of finding much treasure. An Indian prisoner promised to conduct

conduct them thither, on whose sincerity they thought proper to rely. Intending, however, to touch at the Island of Cocoas, in 5 deg. 40 min. south latitude, they steered thither; but found it impossible, with all their skill, to reach the port. They, therefore, directed their course for the continent; and on their way lost their captain, whose death disconcerted them extremely.

That they might perform the rites of sepulture to their deceased officer, with all the solemnity in their power, they steered for Caldera Bay, where they anchored. While some of the crew were digging a grave, three Indians voluntarily entered into conversation with them, which giving rise to suspicion, they were seized, and proved to be spies, sent from a town at some distance.

The English, turning this artifice of the Spaniards upon themselves, by dint of promises and lenity, found that these very men, who were sent to watch their motions, were capable of directing them to a spot where plenty of live cattle was to be obtained. This piece of intelligence was too agreeable to be neglected; and, accordingly, twenty-four men, with one of the Indian guides, set out on the expedition.

After a march of four miles, the party came in sight of a savanna, where numbers of cattle were feeding. Some were for immediately killing, and carrying off as many as they could manage; but the greater part, with less prudent foresight, were determined to stay all night, and secure as many as would victual the ships at once. This resolution prevailing, Dampier, who was on the expedition, with some of the company, withdrew, taking the Indian guide back with them.

The morning arrived ; but none of the absentees were seen. Some disaster being apprehended to have befallen them, the boats were manned, and sent on the look out for them. As they were rowing along, they perceived a number of people wading up to the middle in the water ; and approaching, found it was their own people in this piteous situation. Fortunately, they were all got on board ; but had they been discovered only one hour later, the tide must have swallowed them up.

On enquiry it was found, that they had been permitted to sleep all night, unmolested ; but as they were dispersed among the cattle in the morning, on a sudden, a large party of Spanish soldiers, well armed, posted themselves in such a situation, as to be able to cut off their retreat.

Alarmed at this unexpected ambush, they made haste to join, resolving to sell their lives as dear as possible, if an escape should be found impracticable. Accordingly, they attempted a route different from the direction of the ships ; and at the same time, endeavoured to keep the enemy at a distance by occasional volleys of shot. The Spaniards appeared rather anxious to protect themselves, than to cut off the invaders ; and by cautious circumspection, this small party, at last, made good a retreat to the beach. When they arrived there, they saw their boat in flames ; and the Spaniards posted in such a manner, that all communication with the ships was cut off.

Conceiving themselves now devoted to destruction, they began to despair ; when some of them fortunately espied a rock just rising above the water, at the distance of one hundred yards from the shore. Catching at this last refuge,

they committed themselves to the deep, to escape the fury of their enemies. They rushed into the sea, hand in hand, with the determined resolution to perish or escape together. In this manner they reached the rock, where they remained some hours; and had not their companions so opportunely come to their relief, the waves would have soon been their grave.

Notwithstanding this lucky escape, the buccaneers felt more disappointment than pleasure; because they found it unsafe to make a second attempt to obtain supplies, of which they stood in great need. Weighing anchor, they came to Ria Lexa, which is known by a high-peaked volcano.

These freebooters surprised the Spanish guard on a small island on the coast, and from their prisoners obtained the mortifying intelligence, that the town was too well defended, for such a small force to make any effectual impression on it. Again frustrated in their expectations, they steered for the Gulph of Amapalla, where they careened their ships; having previously sent Captain Davis, with two canoes, to collect information on the coast. Davis, soon after setting out, came to a small island, on which stands the town of Mangera. In this place, he found only a friar and two boys, who shared his fortune. All the other inhabitants had fled, on the first alarm of a party of strangers having landed.

From the monk, Captain Davis learned, that there were several Indian villages in the Gulph; but only three towns with churches; and that himself and another were all the white people in this district.

In consequence of this information, the captain advanced to the eminence on which Amapalla was situated, taking the monk and boys in his train. As they were gaining the ascent, the other white man, attended by an Indian chief, hailed them. The captain made no difficulty in declaring, that they were Spaniards, sent to clear the coast; and that their ships being foul, they intended to refit, and claimed the assistance of his Catholic Majesty's subjects for this purpose.

The white, whom they addressed, acted as secretary to the Spanish government in this quarter; and being cajoled, by Davis's professions, into a belief that he was discharging his duty, bid them welcome; and promised every assistance in his power. The Indian inhabitants testified a similar respect; and thus preliminaries being settled, they were conducted to the church, where all business of a public nature was transacted.

The friar entering first, in virtue of his profession, was followed by Davis and most of the spectators; but one or two of the Indians, loitering behind, were pushed in by the English, on which they began to suspect danger, and sprang back again. The rest of the Indians followed their example; and Davis and the friar were left alone, in consternation at the cause of their desertion.

The brutal and wanton instigators of mischief now fired on the flying Indians, and in the confusion the secretary was slain; undeservedly meeting his fate from pretended friends, whom he was ready to serve. Davis had planned to secure these people in the church, and then make his own terms; but the event shewed, that

he might have effected all he wished, without treachery, without cruelty.

Soon forgetting the unprovoked outrage they had suffered, the Indians shewed the English the most pointed attention; and lent them a voluntary assistance in the repair of their ships. They also supplied them with cattle and provisions, from the main; and performed the most menial offices without a murmur. All this while, the friar and his two attendants were detained prisoners; and as the Indians had a high veneration for the man and his character, they shewed no other jealousy of the English, but lest they should carry him away. He was endeared to them by long acquaintance; he had learned their language, and acted, on every occasion, as their father and their friend. An ecclesiastic of such a description, will never have reason to complain of the want of honourable distinction!

To have carried off this priest, would have been a piece of the basest ingratitude to their benefactors, and no advantage to themselves. The latter motive, perhaps, influenced them to liberate him, as soon as they were ready to sail. On the 3d of September, they were again equipped for sea; but the two companies having quarrelled, they resolved to pursue different courses.

Davis directed his course along the main of Peru, and at length touched at the Island of Plata; while Eaton, who had sailed in a different direction, at last, being in want of water, came to the same island. Eaton, in his progress, met with such dreadful storms of thunder and lightning, that the crew expected every moment to be involved in elemental fire. An accommodation was attempted between the two captains
at

at this place ; but this failing, Captain Eaton speedily set sail.

Captain Davis next made an attack upon Manta, about eight leagues distance. All the inhabitants deserted the town before they could enter it ; leaving only an old woman, whom the buccaneers brought off. From her they understood, that a number of strangers had arrived over land from the North Sea ; and that the viceroy had commanded all the Spanish trading vessels to be destroyed, to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy.

These tidings induced Captain Davis to return to the Isle of Plata ; and soon after arrived the Cygnet, originally fitted out for trade by some merchants of London. This vessel was commanded by Captain Swan, who, finding trade was suspended, was prevailed on to dispose of his cargo by auction, and to join the marauders, with whom he had accidentally fallen in. The new-enlisted buccaneers were headed by one Harris, who commanded a bark under Swan. The whole party regretted, that Captain Eaton had been suffered to leave them ; and therefore, fitted out a small vessel, which they dispatched to invite him to return, and participate in their fortunes.

On the 3d of November, the ships entered the road of Païta, having previously fallen in with a large ship, by which they gained information, that the viceroy had ordered ten frigates to be fitted out, to check their depredations. Though this news was not very agreeable, it did not prevent them from making a descent on Païta ; where one hundred and ten men landed early in the morning, and attacking the fort, took it with

little opposition. On entering the town, however, they found it deserted, and stripped of every thing moveable. Not a day's provisions were to be found in the place. Intelligence was received here, that Captain Eaton had burned a ship on the coast the week before, after which he sailed westward; whence it was concluded, that he was proceeding homewards by way of the East Indies.

Having taken possession of Paita, the three captains, engaged in this enterprize, made an offer to spare the town, on condition that they should receive three hundred sacks of flour, three thousand pounds of sugar, twenty-five jars of wine, and one thousand jars of water. These terms, so apparently moderate, being slighted, the buccaneers occupied the town for a few days, and then set it on fire.

Being apprehensive that some of the Spanish vessels, fitted out to attack them, might make the experiment, the English put their ships in a state of action; and burning Captain Harris's bark, because she was a heavy sailer, they equipped another to answer the purpose of a fire-ship. Having made all necessary preparations, they next sailed for Lobas, where they again heard of Captain Eaton; and learned that their message bark was gone to Plata, the appointed place of rendezvous.

At Lobas they took in some fresh provisions, which were a very seasonable refreshment; and then resolved to attack Guiaquil.

They entered the Bay of Guiaquil on the 29th of November. The island has a singular appearance. It bears a fancied resemblance to a corpse in a shroud: the east end representing the head, and

and the west, the feet. In making for the port, the ships kept to the southward, in order to avoid the shoals on the opposite side, where it is said, a large and valuable ship was sunk. In consequence of this, a person had obtained a patent to dive, and had brought up some plate; but dying, the patent expired; and as diving here is peculiarly hazardous, few would have been ambitious to have a renewal of the grant. The cat-fish swarming round these islands, the wound of whose fins are mortal, renders it extremely dangerous to venture into the water. Even the Indian divers, who are very dexterous and expert, frequently lose their lives from this singular animal.

The buccaneers being arrived at Puna, about seven leagues from Guiaquil, found the houses raised on posts, about ten or twelve feet high, and covered with palmetto leaves. Here they took a vessel laden with woollen cloth, manufactured at Quito; and, from the master, obtained an account of the manner in which Puna was guarded and defended. Next tide, three vessels fell down from Guiaquil, with one thousand negroes on board, all which they captured; but the town being alarmed, and the attack made on it being badly planned, and as badly executed, the event might easily have been foreseen.

In all these predatory expeditions, there will be a want of subordination; and this will infallibly prevent success. The assailants were divided into two bodies; but instead of co-operating together in one well-concerted attack, they seemed to be influenced by jealousy and mistrust. Davis and Swan were the two commanders; and they retorted charges of cowardice and misconduct on each other, which, from the accounts handed

handed down to us, are sufficiently just when applied to either. Certain it is, that by want of a methodical and resolute behaviour, they disheartened their men; and at last, found it impossible to lead them on to the attack.

Retiring, therefore, from the scene of action, they feasted on a cow, without molestation, in sight of the enemy. The Spaniards, indeed, do not appear to have been fond of offensive operations: to defend, and often to fly, were their principal aims. Thus cowardice and misconduct balanced each other: the English lost an opportunity of enriching themselves, and vented their spleen against each other: the Spaniards were satisfied with the negative merit of acting on the defensive, though they might easily have exterminated the marauders.

When the squadron reached the place of rendezvous, they found their bark in waiting, with her crew almost starved, from the length of their voyages, and the scantiness of their supplies. During the absence of their companions, by whom they seem to have been little regarded, these people, compelled by hard necessity, had made an attack on St. Helena, where they procured a little maize; and by the help of that and a few marine birds, which they were fortunate enough to kill, had with difficulty prolonged their existence.

After taking in fresh water, and accommodating some petty disputes among themselves, they directed their course to Lavelia, a town in the Bay of Panama. Next morning they passed in sight of Cape Passao, a round high point of land, separated in the middle, and barren towards the sea. Betwixt this and Cape St. Francisco, they
saw

saw numerous little islands, full of trees, and intersected by sandy creeks. In hopes of meeting with some canoes, they made for the River of St. Jago, in the vicinity of the Island of Gallo, in which gold abounds, and anchorage is safe.

This river is large and navigable. About seven leagues up the country it divided into two branches, forming an island of the most luxuriant fertility, producing many noble trees common to this climate; especially red and white cotton, and cabbage trees of the largest size.

The white cotton tree rises to a great height without any branches. These, however, surround the top, and are very strong. The bark is smooth: the leaves are of a dark green, oval, smooth, and jagged at the extremities. These fall off in April; but in a week's time are renewed. It is a remarkable peculiarity of this tree, that the trunk is sometimes larger as it ascends. The silk-cotton, the produce of this tree, falls off in November and December, but is too fine to enter into substantial manufactures; and, therefore, is more curious than valuable. In the East Indies, it serves the effeminate natives as a stuffing for pillows and couches.

The red cotton tree is of a less luxuriant growth; but in other respects resembles the former. The wood of both is hard, but somewhat spongy. They are natives of the rich lands on the coast of the South Sea, as well as of the East and West Indies.

The cabbage tree sometimes reaches the amazing height of one hundred and twenty feet. Its branches spread out near the top, to the length of twelve or fourteen feet, about the thickness of a man's arm, and are covered with long slender

der leaves. In the midst of the highest branches, shoots out the cabbage, beautifully white, and deliciously sweet. As this tree dies as soon as its head is damaged, it is generally cut down before the fruit is gathered. The trunk is annulated from bottom to top; the bark is thin and brittle, and the wood hard and black.

The almost impervious thickness of the woods, and the enmity of the natives, have prevented the Spaniards from making any considerable discoveries near this place. Nevertheless, Dampier, with a party, in four canoes, ventured to row several leagues up the river, where they discovered two thatched huts, some fowls, a few plantains, and a hog, which they supposed was of the European breed. On it they made a hearty meal; for the Indians, seeing them approach, paddled away with the stream; and left the invaders at full liberty to plunder their property.

Proceeding on their course, they surprised a small village, named Tomaco, where they took a vessel containing some wine; on board of which they found a Spanish knight, called Don Diego de Pinas, who had come from Lima. This vessel, after plundering her of a few necessaries, they suffered to depart.

Afterwards, they fell in with the Panama packet boat, the crew of which threw the dispatches overboard, which the English recovered, and found by the contents, that the President of Panama had received orders to hasten the Plate fleet from Lima; which intelligence made them change their course, and alter their resolution.

They therefore stood for the Gulph of Panama; and having passed the Pearl Islands, came to an anchor

anchor in the harbour of Galleria, in the Island of St Paul, on the 25th of January 1685. Here they careened their ships, and then sent them to cruise in the gulph. Four days after, one of them brought in a prize laden with fowls, salt beef, and corn.

The ships being put in order, and supplied with wood and water, they sailed towards Panama, to intercept the Plate fleet. On the 18th of February they cast anchor opposite to Old Panama, once a celebrated city; but the greatest part of it being laid in ashes by Sir Henry Morgan, it was never rebuilt. About four leagues from these ruins, stands New Panama, a very handsome place, surrounded by navigable rivers, some of which furnish gold. The views from this city are delightful, extending over many pleasant islands, and a country extremely picturesque. The houses are chiefly of brick, and the public buildings possess a degree of grandeur and elegance. Dampier says, it is the most showy place on the coast. It carries on a lucrative and extensive trade with Peru and Chili. The air here is clear and salubrious, except during the rainy season; nor is the climate incommoded by fogs, so frequent on some parts of this coast.

While they lay here, the buccaneers sent the Spanish knight they had taken out of a prize vessel, as already stated, with a letter to the president. By some accident, he lost his life before he could perform the office with which he was entrusted. However, they dispatched another letter, the purport of which was, to solicit an exchange of prisoners; and in consequence of
this,

this, forty Spaniards were released for the same number of English.

On the 24th of March, they stood over to the Island of Tobago, about six leagues south of Panama. This island is small, and, except on the north side, where it produces some tropical fruits, it is sterile and rocky. It formerly had a town of some eminence; but the buccaneers had repeatedly laid it in ruins.

While the English lay before a small town called Tobagilla in this island, they had a narrow escape from destruction. A person, pretending to be a merchant, from Panama, came off to them, and proposed entering into a clandestine trade. This offer being cheerfully acceded to, a bark sailed towards them in the night, as had been previously stipulated. But notwithstanding she hailed the buccaneers, and interchanged the proper watchwords, they had the precaution to order her to cast anchor. This not being complied with, the ships began to fire on the visitors. Finding their treacherous scheme detected, a few minutes before it was ripe for execution, the Spaniards took to their canoes, and immediately set fire to their bark, which now appeared to have been fitted out as a fire-ship; but, instead of effecting the intended mischief, she drove, burning, towards Tobago.

It afterwards came to light, that this ship had been equipped by a Captain Bond, who had found it advisable to put himself under the protection of the Spaniards, when he could no longer annoy them, with the prospect of advantage. The direction of the fire-ship was against Captain Davis's vessel, which with difficulty escaped the danger. At the same time that this attempt was made

made on Captain Davis, a float, with only one man upon it, was seen advancing to Captain Swan's ship, probably with combustibles; but it is supposed, that the incendiary perceiving himself discovered, desisted from his enterprize, as he dived, and was soon out of sight.

Bond, whose machinations against his countrymen we have just mentioned, falling in with Captain Eaton, had been prevailed on by his pilot to join company with that marauder; but the very next night, the pilot getting on board Eaton's ship, exerted all his powers to get him to desert his new consort, which he accordingly did, after an association of two days. Bond, being thus deserted by the only person to whose judgment he trusted in the navigation of the South Sea, sailed for Porto Bello, where he surrendered himself; and was afterwards employed by the viceroy of Lima, to assist in checking the depredations of the buccaneers on the American coasts.

After a night spent in anxious fear, the return of day convinced the English that the designs of their enemy had been totally blasted, and the ships once more anchored in security. But this was not their only consolation. The same morning, they discovered a number of canoes and privateers approaching their station; and presently found they were filled with persons of the same description with themselves. In fact, they were a motley assemblage of French and English, animated with the same hopes of plunder, and equally devoid of feeling or principle.

These persons were under the conduct of two captains, named Grenet and Lequie; and reported, that one hundred and eighty Englishmen, under the command of Captain Townley, still re-

mained on the isthmus. The French having four prize ships given them, the English were taken on board Davis's and Swan's ships. Soon after Captain Townley arrived; and the squadron having taken two coasting vessels, learned from them that the Lima fleet was ready to sail.

This news filled them with joy, mingled with apprehension. They reflected on the brilliant prize they might obtain, and weighed the consequences of disappointment. They set themselves, however, about adopting every precaution, and using every expedient which was calculated to promote success, and to ward off disgrace. They sailed backwards and forwards, in the track where they expected to meet the enemy, with the most anxious expectation; and intercepted some letters, containing instructions which their adversaries were to pursue. In consequence of these, they were more harassed than ever with alternate hopes and fears: they were all animated with one general wish of leaving nothing undone to forward their views; but they could not agree what was most eligible to pursue.

In this state of indecision, word was brought that the Spanish fleet was advancing, apparently with an intention of giving them battle. The commanders of the buccaneers felt the difficulty of their situation: they knew that such a motley assemblage of persons was ill suited to a regular engagement; and that the want of discipline and unity of counsels would render a battle extremely hazardous. However, they had now only one alternative, to fight or fly. If they vigorously pursued the former resolution, they had much to hope; the latter, they were sensible must be inevitable destruction.

The Spanish fleet consisted of fourteen sail. The admiral's ship carried forty guns, and five hundred and forty men ; the vice-admiral's, forty guns and four hundred men ; and the rear-admiral's, thirty-six guns and three hundred and sixty-men. Besides these, there were a ship of twenty-four guns, and three hundred men ; a second of eighteen guns, and two hundred and fifty men ; and a third of eight guns, and two hundred men. They had also two fireships, and six vessels with small arms, together with some tenders, having eight hundred men among them.

To oppose this formidable armament, the English had only ten ships, of which Captain Davis's carried thirty-six guns, and one hundred and fifty-six men, chiefly English ; Captain Townley's had one hundred and ten men, all of the same nation ; Captain Grenet's three hundred and eight men, all French ; Captain Harris's one hundred men, mostly English ; Captain Branly's thirty-six men, English and French mixed ; Swan's tender carried only eight men, and Townly's bark eighty. Exclusive of these, they had equipped a small bark of thirty tons, as a fireship. The collective number of men in the whole squadron was about nine hundred and sixty.

With a force so inferior and so inadequate, the English resolved to commence the attack, taking the advantage of the weathergauge, which gave them the option to fight or run. Accordingly, about three in the afternoon, of the 28th of May, they bore right down before the wind, on the enemy, who kept close upon a wind to meet them ; but so much time was spent in manœuvring, that night came on before the action could fairly commence.

As soon as it grew dark, the Spanish admiral hung out a light as a signal for his fleet to anchor; and presently hoisted a light on his top, which, after remaining an hour, was taken down, and then hoisted again. The English being still to windward, were not aware of the stratagem that was playing off; for the Spaniards, sensible of the importance of gaining the weathergage, had hoisted the second light on the topmast of one of their barks, while the admiral silently edged away, followed by his capital ships; and as soon as it was day, the buccaneers had the mortification to find that he had got the wind of them.

This unexpected stroke of seamanship reduced them to a sad dilemma. They were obliged to fight with little prospect of advantage, and the difficulty of their flight was much increased. Thus situated, an unequal conflict began. Captain Townley, who was considered as admiral, being hard pressed by the enemy, made a bold push through a narrow strait that parted the isles, and was followed by some of the smaller vessels, by which means they escaped. Captain Harris was chased to the westward; and Captain Davis maintained a running fight during the whole day, round the Bay of Panama, with such judgment and activity, that he lost only a single man.

Night again put an end to the engagement; when the Spaniards gave over the pursuit, and suffered the buccaneers to rendezvous at the same islands, from which they had sailed the day before to begin the attack.

Had the English and their associates acted with unanimity and order, there can be little doubt but they would have captured several of the enemy's

my's ships; but independent of insubordination and want of conduct, Grenet, the French captain, was accused of the most shameful cowardice. Though his vessel carried nearly one-third of the whole complement of men in the squadron, he kept at a distance from his associates during the flight, and was equally anxious to be the first to fly from the very appearance of danger. This conduct was so extremely reprehensible, that disputes ran very high, in the squadron, what punishment should be inflicted on him. A variety of opinions were given; but at last the majority agreed to dismiss him with disgrace; suffering him, however, to retain the vessel which had been given him. He was strictly charged, immediately to quit company, and never after to presume to join them. A sentence so mild for a coward, did honour to the English buccaneers; they probably would not have been so favourable to one of their own countrymen; but it is well known that the British tars consider a coward and a Frenchman as synonymous terms; and therefore they refrained from punishing too harshly, what they regarded as constitutional and unavoidable.

Thus, after long expectation and anxious preparation to meet the Plate fleet, their designs evaporated in smoke; and notwithstanding the disparity of numbers and force which ought to have consoled them under their disappointment, never was chagrin more visible than among this piratical group. They lost, however, only one man; and the Spaniards, without attempting to pursue their victory, continued their course to Panama; while the English set sail to the Keys of Quibo, the appointed place of rendezvous.

Here they rejoined Captain Harris; and having held a consultation, they resolved to attempt something on the coast, since nothing of any importance now presented itself for their achievement by sea.

Accordingly they projected an expedition against the city of Leon, on the coast of Mexico; but as it lay some way within land, it was resolved to build canoes on the island of Quibio, where they then lay; and which furnished them with plenty of timber for that purpose.

While these preparations were forwarding, one hundred and fifty men were dispatched to Puebla Nova, a town at a small distance on the continent, which they took without much difficulty; but found nothing in it to reward their toils.

All things being got in readiness, they sailed for Ria Lexa, the port to Leon; and on the 9th of August, quitting their ships and embarking on board their canoes, they were in imminent danger of being swallowed up by the waves, which ran mountains high, attended by a tremendous storm of thunder and lightning. After this tempest abated, a tornado succeeded, which had still more nearly sent them all to the bottom; however they outlived this also, and entered the south side of the harbour in the night. Waiting till day break, they rowed deeper into the creek, the banks of which are covered with mangrove trees, almost impassable. Beyond these they found a small intrenchment, which they took by surprise; and having landed four hundred and seventy men, left the rest, of which number Dampier was one, to guard the canoes.

Captain Townley headed the storming party of one hundred men, which marched at eight in
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the morning. Captain Swan followed with one hundred more; and next came Captain Davis with one hundred and seventy; while Captain Knight brought up the rear.

Townley having advanced two miles before the rest, was attacked by seventy horse, which he forced to retire; and then advanced against the town, which he entered without opposition. Soon after, however, he was assailed in the streets by two hundred horse and five hundred foot; but the horse giving way in the most dastardly manner, the infantry followed their example, and left the place to the mercy of the assailants.

Captain Swan did not arrive till an hour after; and before the whole party could come up, it was fix in the afternoon. Several, worn out with fatigue, were left on the road: among the rest, a man of the name of Townley, of eighty-four years of age, who had served in Ireland under Cromwell; and who resolutely refusing to accept quarter, was shot dead on the spot. They, however, took some of the stragglers alive; among others a person of the name of Smith, who having lived several years in the Canaries, spoke French with fluency. This gentleman, if a gentleman could be found in such a fraternity, being carried before the governor, and interrogated as to the strength of the invaders, gave such an exaggerated account of their numbers and equipment, as deterred him from farther opposition; though he had a force of one thousand men under his command.

In consequence, a flag of truce was hung out, and proposals made to ransom the town. But here the avarice of the buccaneers outstripping their reason, induced them to demand such an
extra-

extravagant sum, as perhaps the governor had it not in his power to answer. The ransom asked, was thirty thousand pieces of eight, and four months provision for one thousand men. The governor refusing to comply with this unreasonable requisition, the town was set on fire, and the English returned to their ships next morning. However Mr. Smith was exchanged for a Spanish lady; and another gentleman was released on a promise of delivering one hundred and fifty oxen at Ria Lexa for his ransom; which engagement he faithfully fulfilled.

On the 16th of August, they returned to their canoes, where they found their ships safe at anchor. The creek, which leads from Ria Lexa, is broad at its entrance, but soon closes into a narrow, deep channel, lined on both sides with cocoa trees. Here the Spaniards had cast up an intrenchment fronting the entrance of the creek, defended by one hundred and twenty men; and farther down, they had placed a boom of trees; so that if they had possessed equal courage with the assailants, they might have completely kept them at bay.

But they saw the English were not to be intimidated at the impediments thrown in their way; and after two guns had been fired, they deserted their post, on which the buccaneers landed and marched against the town of Ria Lexa, situated in a plain, about a mile up the river. It makes a handsome appearance, and has three churches. This place they took without resistance; but found nothing considerable, save five hundred sacks of flour, and some naval stores. The surrounding country produces some sugar, and abounds in cattle; but the air is peculiarly noxious,

ous. The principal fruits growing here are melons, pine-apples, guavas, and prickly pears.

The shrub which produces the guava fruit, has a white, smooth bark; long, slender, boughs; and leaves resembling the hazel. The fruit, which is like a pear, has a thin rind, and when ripe, is yellow, pulpy, and well flavoured. It may, however, be eaten green, which is an advantage it possesses over most of the tropical fruits. There are several varieties of this shrub.

The prickly pear grows on a shrub five feet high, and thrives best where the soil is impregnated with salt water. Each branch of this shrub has two or three roundish leaves, of a palm's breadth, not unlike house-leek, but prickly at the edges. The fruit is about the size of a large plum, small towards the leaf, and thick and open like a medlar at the farther extremity. The fruit is also prickly, from which circumstance it derives its name. The pulp, when ripe, is of the consistence of a thick syrup, of a cooling quality, and a pleasant taste. Dampier says, that he has observed the urine tinged as red as blood after eating a dozen or two of them; but without the least ill consequence from this alarming appearance.

Ria Lexa was likewise consumed by fire; but whether by order of the commanders, or by the fury of the disappointed crew, is not ascertained.

After this expedition, Captains Davis and Swan resolved to separate: Townley with the two barks accompanied Swan; while Knight and Harris resolved to follow the fortunes of Davis.

When this new schism took place, Davis stood for the Peruvian coast; but Swan sailed westward, intending to return by the way of the East Indies. Dampier, eager to gratify his curiosity,
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by a more accurate knowledge of the northern parts of Mexico, preferred the voyage of Swan; and accordingly enlisted in his service.

A sickness, which it was supposed, they had contracted at Ria Lexa, and a course of tempestuous weather marked their voyage to Guatemala, of which they came in sight on the 14th of September. On this coast, a high volcano appears with a double peak; between which the fire and smoke issue out at intervals, with a dreadful noise, particularly before foul weather; nevertheless, the country is peopled to the very foot of the mountain. But however fearless the inhabitants of Guatemala may be in the vicinity of danger, it is certain that they are sometimes visited by dreadful earthquakes, which spread ruin and devastation around. The city stands at the distance of eight leagues from the South Sea, and about fifty from the North; and is enriched by the valuable commodities produced from the neighbouring hills. It is famous for indigo, anatta, silvester, and cochineal.

The anatta is a well known dye, produced from the flowers of a shrub. Silvester is the seed of a fruit resembling the prickly pear, already described; and cochineal is an insect which is found on particular trees. The cochineal and silvester produce nearly a similar tint; but the former is infinitely most esteemed.

The land near the volcano of Guatemala is low towards the sea; but rises with a gradual ascent to the distance of ten leagues from the shore. The volcano is a celebrated seamark; as it may be seen at the distance of seventy-five leagues.

From thence they sailed to the latitude of Togatabeque, where Captain Townley, attempting

to land with one hundred men, found the surf too dangerous to be passed. Thus disappointed, they coasted along, the ships still following the party in their canoes, which Townley resolved to run in shore; but overfet them in the attempt. A man or two was lost, and several were much hurt in this desperate attempt. However, the landing was made good, and the boats hauled on shore; but most of the ammunition was damaged; and to complete their vexation, they could discover no town on the coast. Thus disappointed, not only in the hopes of plunder, but also of provisions, which now became extremely scarce, they re-imbarked, and continued their course for Tangola.

They next steered for Anguatulco, where they came to an anchor; and intended ravaging the country. With this view, they travelled some miles; but though they secured Indian guides, they found only one small village, where some vanilla was drying. The vanilla is a pleasant perfume, of some value, which being infused into chocolate, gives it an agreeable flavour. It grows on a small kind of creeping vine, which at first bears a yellow flower. This afterwards produces a pod about four inches long, which when ripe, becomes yellow, and is full of black seeds.

On the east side of the entrance of the harbour of Anguatulco, and about a mile distant, is a small island. On the opposite side, is a large hollow rock, open at the top, from which a column of water precipitates itself, after the manner of a fountain, in the grandest style. At the bottom of the harbour is a fine rivulet, near which a town formerly stood, that was sacked and destroyed by Sir Francis Drake.

As neither gold nor silver, nor any other incentive to encourage the buccaneers to proceed, was to be found here, they staid no longer than was sufficient to recover the sick, and to prepare for the continuance of their voyage to a more inviting coast.

In the interim, they sent four canoes before them, with orders to secure some guides; and to wait for the ships at the Port of St. Angelo. Following the same course, on the 12th, they met with two of the boats in a most distressful situation, having been overset on the beach. They reported, that the other two had left them in the night; and, as it was afterwards discovered, had rowed as far as Acapulco. However, they rejoined the ships on their approaching the harbour, from which there was an extensive and picturesque view of a beautiful and fertile country. The declivities of the hills were feathered with lofty trees; and the plains and savannas were watered by streams and rivulets, whose banks were painted by flowers and shrubs of many charming tints.

Here they landed, near a Spanish villa, from whence the people had all fled; and found salt and Indian corn in abundance. They likewise procured a supply of poultry, hogs, and cabaritos; and carried off as much as the party was able to convey.

Leaving Port Angelo, they came to an anchor in sixteen fathoms water, under a small rocky island, about six leagues to the westward. Next day they met with a very disagreeable incident. Having weighed, and continuing their course, they came opposite to a small lagune, where the missing boats had taken a quantity of fish.

Lying

Lying to, in order to obtain a larger supply, they sent in a boat with twelve men.

The Spaniards suspecting their intent, concealed themselves behind a rock at the narrow entrance of the lagoon, and discharged a volley of small arms from their ambuscade, just as the boat was passing; by which five of the crew were dangerously wounded. Alarmed at this unexpected attack, and finding a retreat impossible, they pushed forward into the lagoon, to shelter themselves from the gun-shot, till the enemy should disperse, or the vigilance of their own people should be exerted for their relief. Two days, however, and three nights elapsed, before they received any assistance: at length Captain Townley, suspecting some disaster had befallen them, manned his canoes, and repulsing the Spaniards who were posted on the rocks, opened the sufferers a free passage into the sea.

The joy of these unfortunate men was the greater, as the pains of the wounded now became insupportable; and had not relief so providentially arrived, it was impossible they could have long endured the agony they had so long suffered.

Having steered westward by a rock called the Alcatraz, they perceived that the Spaniards had thrown up a breast-work at a little distance, defended by two hundred soldiers. The English, however, landed and forced them to fly with little opposition. Here they found a considerable quantity of salt, which had been collected for curing the fish caught in the bay.

About three leagues distance from the mouth of the river, they came to a house, in which they found a mulatto, who engaged to conduct them up the stream, to a place where they might find plenty

plenty of cattle and maize; and farther informed them, that a large ship lay at Acapulco which had lately come from Luna. Captain Townley, wishing to possess a better ship than that in which he sailed, proposed cutting her out of the harbour; and in spite of Captain Swan's remonstrances, who set before him the difficulty and the danger of the attempt, and the necessity they were under of securing a supply of provisions, which were now within their grasp, carried his point; and the canoes were manned for the expedition.

The captain accordingly embarked with one hundred and forty men, and a number of canoes, with an intention of taking the ship by surprize; but he had not proceeded far before he was overtaken by a terrible tornado. Escaping the dangers of this storm, they took shelter in Port Marquis, about a league from Acapulco, where they staid to refit their furniture and drefs; and the succeeding night, rowed softly into the harbour of Acapulco.

The port of Acapulco is rendered conspicuous by three hills: the middlemost is of a conical form, and the most westerly of the other two has two hillocks on its top. This town lies in 17 deg. north latitude, and carries on an extensive trade to Lima and the East Indies.

Townley, in order to escape detection, ordered his men to haul in their oars, and paddled softly by the castle, then struck over to the town, where he found the ship riding between the breastwork and the fort, about one hundred yards from each.

In this highly dangerous situation, they began to reflect on the practicability of their design; and despairing of carrying the ship off, they
gently

gently rowed backward, till they were out of the reach of the fort. They then attempted to land, but were repulsed by a company of Spaniards, who kept them at bay till day-break. The view which was now presented to them of the town and castle, convinced that any farther attempt must be romantically mad; they therefore returned on board, vexed at the disappointment, and exhausted with hunger and fatigue.

Soon after the ships sailed from Acapulco; and continued coasting along the shore to the westward. The land, which is low towards the sea, gradually rises to a great height; and though anchorage is good, it appeared extremely perilous to land.

Coasting along, they came to a small river, at the entrance of which one hundred and seventy men were dispatched, under the guidance of an old mulatto woman, to a farm-house, where they had the good fortune to find sixty mules, laden with flour, cheese, and chocolate. They also secured some oxen and eighteen cows, which they killed and conveyed on board. This proved a most seasonable supply; and enabled them to turn their thoughts to farther adventures. They now dismissed their guide with some presents, for which she was very thankful; but they lessened the merit of their generosity, by carrying off one of her children, about eight years of age, in spite of her tears and entreaties, which might have melted the most obdurate hearts, even in favour of an enemy. It is, however, but justice to Captain Swan, who detained the boy, to say, that he behaved to him like a kind master.

Holding on their course, they came in sight of the Volcano of Colima, in latitude 15 deg. 56

min. north. At the base of this burning mountain, lies a town of the same name; and all the surrounding country, according to the Spanish description, is eminently beautiful. The surf, however, was too violent to permit the buccaneers to land at this place; and they proceeded directly to Sallagua.

Here two hundred men landed, and engaged and defeated a body of Spaniards. Proceeding farther up the country, they were informed that the road they had taken led to the city of Oarrah, and that the party they had beaten were sent to escort some passengers from India, who were expected to land from a Manilla ship. This intelligence made them hasten their departure, in order to watch a prize of such magnitude.

Buoyed up with hopes, they steered for Cape Orientes, which they reached without any particular occurrence on the 11th of December. During this run, Dampier was afflicted with a dropy and an ague, which it is said are endemical on the coast. Meanwhile provisions began to grow scarce, and Captain Townley's bark was sent to examine the coast to the westward of the Cape; but returned in a few days without any success or intelligence, that could lead them to indulge favourable expectations.

They now sailed for the Island of Chametly, about eighteen leagues to the eastward. Here they caught a number of rock fish; and Captain Swan returned to his station off the Cape; having first dispatched sixty men to a village in search of provisions. The canoes returning on Christmas eve, reported that they had rowed to the Bay of Valderas, where they found a beautiful and fertile country; that they had at-
tempted

tempted to seize some cattle, feeding in the savannas, which had brought on a skirmish with a body of Spaniards. These they repulsed, but with the loss of four men killed and two wounded; which fatal encounter prevented them from any farther attempt. An adjacent wood afforded them security from the Spanish troops, or the loss might have been more considerable, as the force was very disproportionate. How they spent the Christmas festival, we are not told: it is, however, improbable that they could indulge in much excess, as their stores were almost too low for ordinary subsistence.

On the 28th Captain Townley, who had sailed with sixty men, to attack an Indian village, returned on board, with a moderate supply of maize.

They continued cruising in the vicinity of Cape Corientes, till the 1st of January, when their stock of provisions being quite exhausted, they steered to the Valley of Valderas, to procure some cattle. Next day they landed; and dividing into two bodies, one kept watch while the other seized and killed the cattle; and meeting with no interruption, within five days they had salted beef enough for two months provision. This space, however, Dampier observes, they should have rather spent on the look-out, had they properly considered the nature of their enterprise; and to their negligence, in this respect, he ascribes the failure of the plan. The Manilla ship passed by them to the eastward, while they were employed in the poor pursuit of a few oxen; and thus this great and valuable prize was lost,

Every disappointment laid the foundation of new animosity among this discordant party. Another separation in consequence took place. Captain Townley resolved to steer eastward, and took with him a Mosquito chief, and three of his people, with a view of landing them on some convenient part of the coast. Captain Swan, to whom Dampier still adhered, intended to hold a western course.

On the 14th, Swan came in sight of a small white rock, in latitude 21 deg. 15 min. north, which, at a distance, exhibited the appearance of a ship under sail. From this spot the land trended to the north, the sea tumbling in with such violence from the shore, that a landing was impracticable, though there was good anchorage. The Chametly Islands, near which they were now sailing, are six in number, and are different from those previously mentioned on the east side of Cape Orientes. They lie a little within the tropic of cancer, and are not more than three leagues distant from the main. These islands produce a fruit known by the appellation of the penguin, of which are two varieties, the yellow and the red. The red penguin resembles a nine-pin in shape; but is no larger than an onion. It has no stem, but grows immediately out of the ground; sixty or seventy sometimes rising in one cluster, encompassed with prickly leaves, about eighteen inches in height. The yellow penguin grows on a stem about the thickness of a man's arm, which rises a foot from the ground, and throws out leaves six inches long, and one broad. The fruit grows in clusters on the top of the stalk, about the size of a pullet's egg. The rind is pretty thick, and the pulp, which has an
exquisite

exquisite flavour, is full of minute, black seeds. These are reckoned very wholesome, in moderate quantities; but eaten too freely, they have a heating effect. In the Bay of Campeachy, it is almost impossible to traverse the plains on account of their prickly leaves.

Passing from these islands, Captain Swan, with one hundred and fifty men, in twelve canoes, entered the Lake of Rio de Sal, to the north-west. He landed some men at a grazing farm, where they wounded and secured an Indian, who, being brought on board, informed them there was an Indian town about four leagues distant, in the neighbourhood of which cattle fed in abundance.

Depending on this intelligence, and suspecting few impediments by the way, they prepared to set out for the place described; but they had not proceeded far, before they were attacked by a troop of Spanish horse. These they defeated; but, when open force did not suit the enemy, they practised such stratagems, as much annoyed the invaders. Their way lay through a country covered with grass of an amazing height, to which the Spaniards set fire, and it was not without much hazard, that the conquerors escaped being devoured by the raging element that every where surrounded them.

Meanwhile their opposers had leisure to recollect themselves, and to concert measures for a more effectual resistance. This they endeavoured to put in execution at a village, towards which the English advanced next day, and found it garrisoned. But a want of fire arms among the Spaniards, and the remembrance of their recent defeat, had such an effect upon them,

them, that, after a feeble resistance, and the loss of some of their officers, they again fled, leaving the buccaneers master of the place. In this second encounter, one man was killed, and the surgeon severely wounded.

They here received information of two rich gold mines, at the distance of a few leagues; but they were in such want of provisions, that they preferred plundering the village and securing stores, to the golden harvest that invited them.

On the 2d of February, the captain, with eighty men, made another excursion to the River Rosario, at the entrance of which he landed; and having marched to an Indian town, carried off a considerable quantity of maize and other provisions; but made no advances towards the mines; though it seems they were in the immediate vicinity.

Next day the ships came to an anchor at the mouth of the river; and the stock of provisions being still very insufficient for the numbers on board, with the single exception of beef, a party was dispatched on the 8th, in search of Oletta River; but they soon returned without effecting any thing of importance.

They next sailed for the River St. Jago, up which seventy men proceeded, to examine the creeks and inlets, and to procure intelligence relative to the state of the environs.

This party, having captured an Indian as he was watching a field of maize, learned from him, that they were near the town of Santa Pecaque, where, he said, provisions were plenty; and offered to be their conductor thither. In consequence of this, one hundred and forty men

in canoes, were sent off, under the Indian guide, and the same night landed near the town, about five leagues up the river. Next morning they entered it, and found it entirely deserted; but dispatched messengers to their captain, to acquaint him that, in regard to provisions, they were likely to be successful beyond their original hopes.

On hearing this agreeable news, the captain set out to join them, and on his arrival exerted his utmost endeavours to preserve order among his men; who now giving themselves up to plunder, seemed to forget that an enemy might be at hand. Nay, so infatuated was this unruly crew, that though they had heard, from different quarters, that one thousand men were assembled, and ready to fall on them, they could not be induced to desist from a return to the plunder, while a single load of provisions was left in the town; neither could authority nor persuasion keep them in a collective body, or prevail on them to march in order.

The event may naturally be expected. A party of fifty of these marauders, with as many loaded beasts, proceeding in a line, fell into an ambush, laid for them by the enemy. The report of musketry being heard, Captain Swan made the utmost speed to reach the place of action; but before he could arrive, he found this unfortunate party, stripped of their arms and plunder, and weltering in their blood.

This scene struck him with horror, and threw a deadly damp on the spirits of the survivors. The Spaniards, it is probable, purchased this victory dear, or at least were satisfied with the revenge they had obtained: they retired from the field

field of battle, and suffered the remainder of the buccaneers to repair to the ships without molestation.

St. Pecaque, near which this disaster befel the followers of Swan, is situated on a spacious plain, adjoining a wood, and is adorned with a square in the centre, in which the houses are not inelegantly built. The town was but small; however, it had two churches; and at that time was reputed to contain about seventy white families constantly resident, besides those who occasionally resorted to it from other quarters.

The late check, so effectually curbed the daring spirit of the buccaneers, that they did not think it safe to attempt any thing farther on this coast. They therefore determined to leave the scene of disgrace and disappointment as early as possible, and to steer their course for Cape St. Lucar, on the Island of California. However, they were prevented from making the intended port, and forced to put in at the Maria Islands, about forty leagues distant from Cape St. Lucar.

Here Dampier, who had long been ill of the dropsy, was buried, about half an hour, up to the neck in the warm sand, which threw him into a most profuse sweat. By using proper precautions to keep up the perspiration, after he was taken out of the sand, his health was soon considerably mended. Extraordinary as this mode of cure may appear, it is frequently employed in various marine diseases. The scurvy is often relieved by it; and, for dropfical affections, it is almost reckoned a specific.

When the buccaneers arrived here, they at first subsisted on seals; but in a few days were supplied with turtle, rabbits, and pigeons; and, while

while the crew was employed in careening the ship, the officers were busied in examining the stores, as Captain Swan declared his design of returning to Europe by the way of the East Indies.

This declaration was received with mingled applause and disapprobation. Some loudly condemned the measure, and magnified all the difficulties with which it was likely to be attended: others faintly approved of the scheme, but were terrified when they reflected on the length of the voyage and the scantiness of their stores. On a fair calculation, they had provisions for no more than sixty days on board; and, from Cape Corientes to the nearest land, the Isle of Guam, was accounted seven thousand miles.

These were circumstances of serious reflection; however, Captain Swan, holding out the lure of their being able to intercept the Manilla ship, and thus gain a compensation for all their toils, gradually turned the minds of all to his original views; and they cheerfully set about making the requisite preparations.

All things being ready, the Cygnet, Captain Swan, with one hundred men; and the bark, Captain Teat, with fifty, took their departure from Cape Corientes on the 31st of March, 1686. By next day, at noon, they were wafted, by variable winds, to the distance of thirty leagues from the Cape; and soon after, being carried into the course of a wind, blowing steadily from the ENE. point, they made a rapid progress; and every thing seemed propitious to their wishes. However, after sailing about three weeks, in which space they had no view of any land, the mariners began to be impatient and dissatisfied;

dissatisfied; and insisted on having their allowance increased.

This requisition Captain Swan was obliged to comply with, notwithstanding he was conscious of its imprudence. For, should the wind change, or any other cause of delay take place, he well knew they must be reduced to the last distress, or even perish with hunger. But it was impossible to reason with such a crew, and dangerous to attempt it. Indeed, small was the enlarged allowance: it was no more than ten spoonfuls of maize a day for each man.

It is recorded, that some of them shewed an extraordinary degree of abstemiousness in drinking; several refrained entirely from liquids for the space of a week; and one man did not drink in seventeen days, and then said, he felt no particular desire. So moderate are the real wants of nature, did not the habit of indulgence render us craving and discontented!

The spare diet, to which the crew so reluctantly submitted, had a salutary effect on some who were labouring under previous disease. Dampier's health was completely re-established by it. He was not, however, one of those who could subsist without drink; which, it indeed appears marvellous that any one could, in such latitudes; he drank thrice a day, and yet got entirely cured of his dropical affection.

During this run, Captain Swan exhibited an instance of severity which in every view appears irreconcilable to his pursuits. He ordered one of the mariners, convicted of a petty theft, to receive three lashes from every person on board, himself setting the first example. Little did he consider, when he inflicted this punishment, how

how much greater his own demerits were; but the petty plunderer is sure to suffer, while the exalted robber plumes himself on his resolution and success.

From the whole of Swan's conduct, however, we are led to believe, that the profession of a buccaneer was accidentally taken up, and never highly relished. As to his general behaviour to his crew, it appears to have been dictated by a spirit of discontent, arising from the disagreeable circumstances, in which he found himself involved, with a headstrong and ungovernable body of men, intent only on plunder, and prone to every vice. There are gradations in crimes; and the most hardened by nature cannot at once arrive at the acme of insensibility. Swan was brought up to honourable traffic; and had fortune been propitious, it is probable he never would have deserted the path of integrity! Circumstances influence the best of us; and charity should prompt us to believe, that few are voluntarily dishonest.

To appease the murmurings of his people, Swan had endeavoured to persuade them that, though it was upwards of seven thousand leagues, by the Spanish reckoning, from Cape Corientes to Guam, yet it might be run in fifty days; and he instanced the voyages of Drake and Cavendish, which had been performed in that, time. This, however, was only a temporary expedient to prevent tumult; for when they found that, in their long course, they saw neither land nor animal, they became absolutely mutinous, and threw out the most bitter invectives against their commander.

Swan tried to pacify them by every palliating argument in his power; and as the breeze continued favourable, he encouraged them to hope that their hardships would soon come to an end. On the 18th of May, some rain having fallen, and the clouds appearing to settle in the west, gave them the reasonable prospect of nearing the land.

At this time, Captain Teat, in the bark, being considerably ahead, ran over a shoal with four fathoms water over it; and having passed it in safety, he lay by to inform Swan of what he had observed. After a short consultation, they resolved now to steer directly north, in hopes of reaching Guam, which, according to the Spanish charts, lay nearly in the latitude they were in. In a short time, to their great satisfaction and joy, they came in sight of the Island of Guam, distant about eight leagues; and happy was it for us, says Dampier, that we reached this spot so opportunely, as we had now only three days provisions left; and in case of their being quite exhausted, it was the determination of the crew, as I was afterwards informed, to kill Captain Swan and eat him first, and all, who were necessary to this voyage, in rotation.

Such was the savage disposition of these men, whose uniform behaviour was sufficient to sour the mildest temper. But though Swan escaped this impending danger, the same unruly set afterwards abandoned him to his fate, as the sequel will shew.

The Isle of Guam, which Dampier places in 13 deg. 21 min. north latitude, is about thirty-six miles long, and twelve broad. It had a Spanish fort, mounting six guns, and garrisoned with

with between twenty and thirty soldiers, under the command of a governor and some subordinate officers. They found the climate healthy; and the natives active and ingenious, particularly in the structure of boats, which sailed with amazing fleetness.

Captain Swan having cast anchor, was immediately visited by a Spanish friar and three Indians. These being hospitably entertained, were given to understand, that the English came thither in a friendly manner, to purchase provisions, for which they would honourably pay. The friar informed them, that provisions were rather scarce at that time on the island; but that the governor would do the best in his power to accommodate them.

To him, therefore, they dispatched a letter with some presents; and in the meanwhile one of the ship's boats returned from the shore with a supply of cocoa-nuts, which gave them much satisfaction. The governor did not long delay to send them six hogs and a quantity of melons: at the same time, he gave directions to the Indians to assist them in fishing, and collecting the indigenous fruits.

While this friendly intercourse was carrying on, the Manilla ship coming in sight, was warned to bear away, in doing which she struck upon a shoal, and might have fallen into the hands of these adventurers, had not Swan employed all his address to dissuade them from the enterprise.

They remained at Guam for some days, occupied in harmless traffic for provisions. On the 30th of that month, the governor sent the captain a jar of bread made of fine flour, two jars

of pickled mangoes, some hogs, and a quantity of rice. In return, he received some ammunition, and a fine English dog, to which he had taken a particular fancy. Swan was likewise desirous of obtaining the governor's letter to the merchants of Manilla, to open a trade; but this circumstance he studiously concealed from his men.

The friar, who had acted a most friendly part by these adventurers, whose real profession was unknown here, was presented with an astrolabe, a telescope, and a brass clock, for which he made Swan a remuneration in hogs, potatoes, and tobacco.

The vessels being plentifully supplied with such products as the island afforded, they set sail for Mindanao on the 2d of June. Being ignorant on which side of the island the principal town was situated, they coasted round for some time before they came to an anchor, which, as soon as they had done, they saluted with seven guns, and were answered with three from the shore.

A rajah, and one of the emperor's sons coming on board, demanded their country; and, on being informed they were English, bid them welcome; and enquired if it was their intention to establish a factory. This, at first, surprised Captain Swan; but he afterwards learned, that an East India officer had formerly been there with proposals of that kind.

While they lay before Mindanao, the prince of one of the neighbouring islands privately dispatched his nephew to Captain Swan, with overtures of a friendly reception in his dominions, should he be inclined to settle there. Little regard, however,

however, seems to have been paid to this proposal. Meanwhile it was foreseen, that the westerly monsoon, which was speedily approaching, would oblige them to continue in port. Thus situated, Captain Swan laid aside all thoughts of continuing his piratical depredations; and endeavoured to ingratiate himself with the Sultan of Mindanao, to whom he made liberal presents, and at the same time had the policy not to overlook his ministers.

These civilities had the desired effect. After some preliminary negotiation, Captain Swan was invited on shore; and by means of a Spanish interpreter, held a long conversation with the king, who once more desired to know whether the English were come to settle there, in conformity to letters he had received from the East India Company. The captain entertained the sultan with an enumeration of such of his principal adventures as he thought proper to disclose; and, on the other hand, the sovereign descanted on the riches and produce of his country.

After the interview was ended, Captain Swan was entertained by the sultan's uncle, at a banquet, consisting of boiled rice, fish, and fowls. In order to evince this prince's regard for the captain, he informed him, that a servant, belonging to a Captain Goodluck, having robbed his master, and absconded, was now ready to be delivered up to be punished as the laws of England directed. But Captain Swan gave the rajah to understand that, in his country, none but the injured party could prosecute the criminal; and, as the man had committed no offence against him, he could take no cognizance of his crime.

This equitable code of laws, astonished the Indian prince; but, to prove that, in Mindanao, such practices would meet with no protection, he ordered the poor fellow to be stripped stark naked, and tied to a post, where he was exposed a whole day to the burning sun; while the musquetoes incessantly tormented him, without the possibility of his being able to brush them off.

This condescension, though it was not desired by Captain Swan, was followed by a similar offer from him, of delivering up any of his men who should transgress the laws of the country; but the rajah desired he would execute punishment on them himself; and it seems the power could not have been delegated to a more severe judge. On the least complaint, Swan punished his men with a harshness that bordered on revenge. Among those who felt the effects of his rage was Captain Teat, the commander of the bark. Others who had offended him, at any former period, he now remembered; and, while he received the sanction of the natives, he alienated the affection of his own people.

The chiefs of the island shewed every testimony of partiality to Swan; and the water now running low, a number of the natives were ordered to assist him in floating his ship up the river, where she might be moored in security.

The inhabitants of the country were well received on board; and the English, in return, were invited on shore, where they soon formed connections with the best families of the island. Being well supplied with money, they intrigued with the females, who freely set their favours to sale; and dissipated, in extravagance and debauchery,

bauchery, the plunder they had brought from the American shores.

The captain himself, either connived at, or encouraged the shameful excesses of his men; and as the sultan's palace, and that of Rajah Laut, his uncle, were constantly open to him, he carried with him some of the lowest of his followers, whom he thought partial to him; and allowed them to partake of all the dainties which were provided for himself.

The feast of the Ramadam, or Lent, being now observed, some apologies were made to the captain for a suspension of the usual diversions of the country; in which they wished him to join, as soon as the Mahometan rites permitted the indulgence.

The expected rains began to fall in the month of August, attended with stormy weather. The river swelled to an astonishing height, and large trees, frequently drifting down upon the vessels, exposed them to perpetual danger. Business, as well as pleasure, was at an end; and as the city was quite overflowed, all communication between the houses was stopped. However, the town being built upon posts, which allowed a free course to the water, no danger was apprehended from this annual visitation.

The Ramadam being past, and the floods subsiding, Rajah Laut entertained Captain Swan with a display of some of the Mindanaoese dances; which were performed to vocal music, in a style singularly fantastic. In order to return this flattering compliment, Captain Swan, who took every method of supporting his own consequence in the eyes of these islanders, gave them a dance after the English taste; to which the sultan,
the

the chiefs, and their women, were invited. The ball-room, where they were received, was hung with silk on the occasion, adorned with gold and silver lace, and splendidly illuminated, which at once gratified and astonished the simple natives.

The dancing being ended, they still shewed a reluctance to withdraw, though their appetite, as well as their sight, had been feasted with all the luxuries that could be procured. It was near day-break when the sultan retired; and his women were still unwilling to accompany him. Rajah Laut, and his female train, prolonged their stay; and, notwithstanding the prohibition of their prophet, shewed no aversion to the juice of the grape.

Of all the English dancers, the performance of one, who had learned to dance hornpipes in a low style, was most admired among the natives. The rajah was so pleased with his agility and humour, that he made some enquiries into his condition; and, as nothing is easier than to assume consequence, where there is no danger of detection, he was informed, that this personage was an English nobleman, and that all the rest were gentlemen of the same country, who travelled merely for their diversion.

Captain Swan, being privy to this imposition, and perhaps dreading its consequences, did not try to turn it off with an air of jocularitv; but, to support his own imaginary dignity, exhibited another instance of ill-timed severity. He caused the poor fellow, who was ignorant of the manner in which he had been described to the rajah, to be stripped of all his finery, and cruelly lashed.

Rajah

Rajah Laut, who had taken particular pains to make himself regarded as the firm friend of the English, began to discover some symptoms of his insincerity, when they were preparing to depart. On examining the state of the vessels, it was found that the bottom of the bark was quite honeycombed by worms, and unfit for service: the ship, being sheathed, had only her false bottom destroyed.

Under these circumstances, application was made to their friend, the rajah, for planks to renew the sheathing of the ship, who, coming down to view her, but ill dissembled his disappointment, at finding she was so easily susceptible of repairs; observing, that this was the first vessel he had seen with a double bottom.

This gave occasion to suspect, that he wished both the ships had been rendered unserviceable, as had happened to a Dutch vessel; that he might have obtained the guns. This suspicion was now confirmed by other recollections; particularly by his never apprising Captain Swan of a danger with which he could not be unacquainted.

It was about the middle of November, that these adventurers began to think of refitting their ships, and of putting the necessary stores on board. The whole month of December was occupied in this work: in the beginning of January, they began to take in water.

They next began to turn their attention to supplies for their voyage; and Rajah Laut was liberal in his professions of furnishing them with buffaloes.

These animals being wild, he pretended, day by day, to take his men out to hunt them; but he constantly returned with excuses for his want
of

of success. Nor did Captain Swan seem eager to sail. He suffered himself to be amused by his friends on shore; till having got possession of his lead, iron, and some gold, for which he was to be paid in rice and beef, they at last threw off the mask, and told him, that he was still in debt for his own and his men's board.

Thus matters were taking a very unfavourable turn on shore, but much worse on board. The majority of the crew were eager to pursue their piratical ravages: another party was for returning to their native land, by the most immediate conveyance; and a third, having formed some connections in the country, were indifferent about leaving it.

In this discordant state of views and inclinations, those who were desirous to return home, privately purchased a vessel, in which they intended to sail to Borneo, where they expected to find an English factory. But their design being discovered, its patrons were threatened with the punishment due to deserters. The malecontents, who wished to remain in the country, withdrew themselves, in hopes of lying concealed; while those, who continued on board the ship, regardless of consequences, increased their disorders by intoxication.

All this time, the captain remained on shore. Representations had been made to him, that, in order to settle these disturbances, it was now absolutely necessary to declare himself; and it is highly probable, that, had he attended to such suggestions, and exerted his good sense, matters might still have been brought to a happy issue. But an infatuation seemed to hang over him: he heard of danger, without hastening to repel it.

it. At last, however, he fixed a day to come on board, when all hands were ordered to attend him.

In the interval, his gunner being dispatched for something from on board, happened to leave the captain's journal exposed to the scrutiny of the sailors. In this they found a minute account had been kept of their mutinous conduct, and of their several real or imaginary offences. Disaffection spread from man to man; for few escaped without some censure; and Teat, taking advantage of the momentary impulse, brought them to enter into a solemn engagement, that they would never fail again under their former commander.

This resolution being taken, most of them were for departing immediately; but as neither of the surgeons was on board, next morning they dispatched a messenger for one of them, on pretence that a man had broken his leg. The chief surgeon did not attend; but sent his mate, who was accompanied by Dampier. Having so far effected their purpose, they sent off their canoe to bring away all who were similarly inclined.

On the 13th, in the morning, the day that Swan had appointed to return on board, they weighed, and fired a gun. The chief mate was immediately ordered to go on board, and demand the reason of this proceeding. The mutinous crew shewed him the journal; and heavily complained of their commander's conduct. The mate, however, prevailed on them to admit Captain Swan to a hearing, though they all loudly declared against a reconciliation.

Swan,

Swan, on receiving this information, became timid and irresolute. His character was naturally diffident and close: he either feared to trust himself among his enraged crew, or disdained to apologize to them. However this may be, he made no advances to an accommodation, and accordingly was left in the town, with thirty-six of his most faithful adherents.

Several had paid the debt of nature on the island, others had deserted; and with those who were left behind, the company was now reduced from one hundred and fifty to eighty men. These set sail on the 14th, without any precise view of future operation; trusting to chance, and ready to embrace any favourable prospect of bettering their fortunes.

Being clear of Mindanao, they cast anchor on the 17th near a small island, where they proceeded to the election of officers. John Read, a native of Jamaica, a principal leader in the insurrection against their old captain, was promoted to the chief command, Teat was appointed master, and Henry More quarter-master.

Proceeding on their voyage, they struck on a rock, on which they hung for two hours, but being heaved off by the rising of the tide, escaped with no other damage than the loss of a part of the rudder. Anchoring afterwards near the Island of Mindera, an Indian canoe came up to them, and acquainted them, that if trade was their object, they might obtain a recommendatory letter from a certain friar, which would ensure their favourable reception. But an honest occupation did not suit the taste of this abandoned crew; they, therefore, declined the friendly offer, and proceeded on their course to Luconia, where

where they captured a Spanish bark, bound for Manilla, laden with rice and cotton cloth. The master of this vessel had been mate of the Aca-pulco ship, which passed by Guam; and from him they learned, by what means she had escaped their designs.

This piratical crew now turned their attention to Pulo Condore, in order to intercept the Manilla ship, which generally arrives there about the end of May. They cast anchor at Condore, on the coast of Cambodia, on the 14th of March; and entering a harbour, they soon after began to careen their ship, in which they were assisted by the natives. They here exchanged rice, of which they had a large store, for hogs and turtles.

Dampier observes, that among other singular productions of the islands on this coast, there grows a tree of considerable magnitude, from which the Indians extract a juice that, when boiled, possesses the consistence and qualities of tar.

During their long stay at Mindanao, it was supposed, that several of the company had been carried off by poison; in the administering of which the Indians are well known to be too expert. At Condore, two men, who had long led a lingering life from the same fatal cause, resigned their breath; and on being dissected by the surgeon, their livers were found dry and black, somewhat resembling pieces of cork. Dampier imagines, that it was jealousy which instigated the Mindanaoese to execute such a terrible revenge on some of the English; and in this conjecture, he was, perhaps, perfectly right. How many have fallen victims to a heedless connection with the natives of the east!

Leaving Condore, they proceeded to Siam on the 21st of April, being conducted thither by an ancient Indian, well versed in the Malayan tongue. They were only three days on their passage; but being disappointed in finding dried fish, which they expected here, they returned to their old station at Pulo Condore. In their course they overtook a Chinese junk, from which they obtained information, that the English had a factory at Silleber, on the Island of Sumatra.

Having reached the place of their destination, Captain Read, observing a Malayan vessel at anchor within shore, sent a canoe to gain intelligence; at the same time cautioning the party, not to trust themselves with the strangers, but to hail them at a distance. But these refractory people were become as little mindful of their new commander's orders, as they had been of those of their old. They rashly ventured on board, unarmed; and in consequence of their imprudence, five or six were immediately dispatched by the Malayese with their short daggers. The rest leaping into the sea, reached their boat; and among those who escaped by swimming, we are told of one Daniel Wallis, who, though he had never learned the art, kept up with his companions, and got safe on board. This affords another instance of the latent powers of man, which can only be called into action by unexpected and pressing emergencies.

The surgeon being sick, and ashamed of confor-
ting with such a company, went on shore at this place, with a view of withdrawing himself from them; but his intention being discovered, he was pursued and brought back by an armed force.

They

They remained here till the 4th of June, being detained by bad weather: when having taken on board a Malayan Portuguese, as an interpreter, they at last weighed with an adverse wind. They struggled against it for ten days, in hopes of its shifting and carrying them to Manilla; but finding that it still continued contrary, they directed their course to Prata, with the idea of fishing up some of the treasure said to have been lost in some Chinese ships, recently cast away there. The wind, however, was still against their views in this respect; and being driven on the Island of St. John, on the coast of China, they began to supply themselves with hogs and buffaloes.

While they remained at this island, some of the ship's company went over to the continent, where they found nothing to tempt their avarice, or gratify their curiosity. Weighing from St. John's, with a gentle gale, on the 3d of July, they had every prospect of a favourable voyage; but next day one of the most dreadful storms began, that these long-practised adventurers had ever witnessed.

This tempest increased till midnight with dreadful fury. At that dismal hour, the clouds burst in torrents, the thunders rolled in awful peals, the lightning flashed incessantly, and the sea itself resembled a sheet of liquid fire, except when at short intervals the most horrid darkness rested on its surface. Meanwhile, the rising surges were one moment ready to lift the ship to the clouds, the next threatened to plunge her for ever in the gulphs beneath. The vessel laboured dreadfully in this tremendous conflict of the elements, the rails of the head were carried away by a violent surge, that likewise dislodged

the sheet anchor, and forced it against the bows, which it was expected to penetrate. To prevent this fatal disaster, they gave up the helm to the wind; and ran with amazing rapidity wherever the fury of the elements directed. At four in the morning, the violence of the tempest abated, when the sailors saw that well-known meteor, a corpus fant, shining like a star at the mast head, from which they draw favourable presages; but had it appeared on the deck, they would have given up all for lost. These conclusions, from the different positions of the meteor, are, perhaps, not wholly visionary: they may be accounted for on philosophical principles; but sailors, who are generally the most superstitious of men, never trouble themselves with learned investigations of truth.

The gale subsided by degrees into a perfect calm; and at last every breath of air died away. But still the heavens presented a lowering aspect, presaging another storm, which accordingly came on from the south-west, attended with torrents of rain. The ship again was driven before the winds; and, for several hours, the skill of the mariner was in vain. This second storm having subsided, on referring to their charts, they were of opinion, that the best course they could now take would be to steer for the Piscadore Islands, in latitude 23 deg. north.

They arrived in sight of these islands, of which they knew nothing but the name, on the 20th of July; and were agreeably surprised to find a fine spacious harbour, and a number of junks passing and repassing. As soon as they had cast anchor, a Tartarian officer came to demand their country and business. On being informed that they were from England, and in distress, he intimated that
they

they might be supplied with whatever the country produced ; but that they must not think of landing. Accordingly, they were furnished with provisions from the shore ; and having made the governor some presents, in return for his civilities, they set sail on the 29th.

These adventurers then directed their course to a cluster of islands, situated between Formosa and Luconia, for which they steered with all the ardour of expectation, and arrived there on the 2d of August. They found them populous, and rich in provisions ; particularly in goats and swine. Captain Read named these hitherto undistinguished islands Bashee.

The historian of the voyage informs us, that their towns are built on precipices, wholly inaccessible, except by ladders, placed at the extremities of the streets, which run in parallel lines. The inhabitants were unacquainted with the use of iron ; but had a certain yellow metal, like gold, among them, which served as the medium of commerce. In a variety of instances, they displayed no small share of ingenuity ; and their modes of life differed from all with whom the buccaneers had hitherto maintained any intercourse. They voraciously devoured the entrails of such animals as the English dressed ; and shewed a total want of cleanliness in the article of food ; nevertheless, they were neat in their persons, good natured, and honest in their dealings ; and evinced such a peaceable disposition and temper of mind, as prevented them from resenting any affronts offered them by their visitors, or from squabbling with each other. In fine, they obtained this singular commendation, that no provocation could make them angry, nor

any temptation induce them to violate the rules of honesty. Happy people! where are their equals to be found!

These hospitable people amply supplied the wants of the buccaneers; and during the space of more than a month, that they continued here, nothing but amity and kindness were to be seen. On the 24th of September the English prepared to sail; but a sudden tempest forced them to cut their cables and to put to sea in the utmost confusion, leaving six of their best hands on shore.

During the storm they were driven off the coast, and could not regain their station before the 1st of October. As soon, however, as they came in sight, the natives brought off the men who had been left behind, to whom they had behaved with the greatest attention. They wished, indeed, to adopt them into their society; and made them an offer of wives, land, and planters implements, by way of a portion. This being rejected, they readily restored them to their companions; and, as a reward for their kindness and humanity, received some bars of iron, the only metal they admired.

Tired out with a succession of disasters, the crew became impatient to return; while Read and Teat, their two commanders, still wished for an opportunity of improving their fortunes. Finding, however, the sense of their company against remaining longer on these coasts, they persuaded them to forbearance till they should reach Cape Comorin, when every man should be at liberty to follow his own inclination.

This proposal being acceded to, they proceeded on their voyage, quitting all the golden prospects with which they had once flattered themselves;

selves; and anxious only to avoid the English or Dutch ships which might casually be navigating those seas. With this view they deserted the most frequented route, and steered to the southward, till they came in sight of the Island of St. John, on the coast of Mindanao.

Thus having conducted our adventurers once more to the country, where they had abandoned their former commander and a party of their shipmates, we shall give a brief sketch of the island and the manners of the inhabitants, before we proceed with the narrative.

Mindanao, though it lies in 7 deg. north latitude, and consequently in a warm climate, is blessed with a temperate air, and covered with perpetual verdure, and abundant fertility. The hills produce gold; the lawns are interspersed with groves, and fruit-bearing trees and shrubs; and a number of streams at once fertilize and adorn this favoured spot.

The houses, as has been already observed, are all raised on posts, on account of the periodical rains. Even the king's palace, though it is spacious, has only one floor, which is twenty feet above the level of the ground. The natives are pretty strict in the practice of the Mahometan rites, observing the daily ablutions, and religiously abstaining from the flesh of swine. Bread, fruit, rice, and the spontaneous productions of the country form their principal diet. Beef and poultry are only occasionally used.

The people, in general, are low in stature, and of a copper complexion. The women are somewhat fairer than the men; but their noses being small and flat, gives them an unattractive appearance. They are naturally very amorous, and
show

shew a particular predilection for Europeans. The higher ranks dress in silk and fine calico; but the common people wear a kind of cloth, called saggin, manufactured from the bark of the plantain tree.

The artizans in wood, iron, and gold, give no contemptible displays of their ingenuity, when the rudeness of their tools is considered. They have neither anvils, planes, nor saws; yet, by perseverance, they produce works that would astonish the most expert Europeans.

There is only one mosque in Mindanao, which is not much resorted to, except upon particular occasions. They notify the hour by a gong, which is a vast drum placed over a cavity, the head of which is covered with brass. This instrument is watched night and day by a number of people who relieve each other. They strike it with a stick loaded with a ball; and the sound produced is loud enough to be heard to the utmost limits of the town.

The Mindanaoes use the rite of circumcision. This operation is frequently deferred among the common people till they are about the age of twelve; but princes of the royal blood have it performed in the most ceremonial manner at the expiration of eight days.

The soil produces cloves, nutmegs, oranges, plantains, bananas, betel nuts, durians, and coconuts, besides the bread-fruit. Potatoes, yams, melons, rice, and many other vegetables are cultivated with facility and success.

Dampier prefers the plantain to all other fruits. The tree which produces it is about a foot in diameter, and ten or twelve feet in height. The fruit grows in clusters on the top. It has a yellow

low coat when ripe ; and under, a substance of a delicate flavour, which melts in the mouth like marmalade. The banana differs little from the plantain, except in the inferiority of its size and flavour.

The natives discourage the growth of nutmeg and clove trees, for fear of exciting the jealousy of the Europeans, who have monopolized those valuable productions, and are eager to possess them. Yet Dampier informs us, that it is usual, in some of the adjoining islands, to see cloves lying several inches thick under the trees at shedding time.

Of the betel nut, all the oriental nations are extravagantly fond. It is the fruit of a tree growing like a cabbage, to the height of ten feet and upwards, without either leaf or branch, except at the top, where it sends forth circular shoots, producing the fruit in clusters, on tough stalks about the size of a finger. It is larger and rounder than a nutmeg. When green, it is cut into quarters, and wrapped up in arkca leaf, and both chewed together. Its taste is not very agreeable. It tinges the lips red, and the teeth black.

The durian grows on a tree resembling the apple : it as large as a pompion ; and when ripe, opens and emits a flavour like onions. If not eaten fresh, it becomes intolerably rank.

To resume the narrative. While the buccaneers lay in the bay, they received intelligence that Captain Swan, and his adherents, still remained at Mindanao, and had acquired great glory in the wars of Rajah Laut. The courage of Swan had been frequently disputed by those who had deserted him : but his reputation here seems

seems to establish it beyond a doubt. It appears that he resided a long time at Mindanao, and, indeed, was forbid leaving the country. Some of his party died there: a few obtained a circuitous passage to Europe.

A native prince having promised Read a handsome gratuity to convey him to his own island, induced the commander to wait for three days; during which space, Dampier, who did not approve of the former dereliction of Swan, sounded his companions about his restoration. His first trial gave him hopes of success; however, one who had been consulted, betrayed the secret before it was ripe for being generally divulged; in consequence of which, Read weighed anchor immediately, to frustrate the projected scheme.

On the 9th of November, they came to St. Ubes, in latitude 3 deg. north. Here they found a kind of creeping plant, the leaves of which, being pounded and mixed with lard, proved a cure for ulcers. The crew being apprized of its virtues, collected a considerable quantity of it; and found it afterwards to answer their utmost expectations.

Setting sail to the southward, they met with a violent tornado, and saw a water-spout, the danger of which they escaped. On the 4th of December, they reached the Isle of Bouton, where they obtained permission of the sovereign to purchase some turtle, that proved very serviceable. On attempting to weigh from thence, they lost their anchor, and were obliged to proceed without it.

In their course towards Timor, they passed a number of islands, the last of which was Omba, from whence they steered southward, with an intention of touching at New Holland. They
fell

fell in with this coast on the 4th of January 1689; but were uncertain, whether it was island or continent. It was the western side on which they touched, and the description Dampier gives, differs in many respects from that of Captain Cook, who visited the eastern shores of the same island. The soil, our author informs us, is dry and sandy, and destitute of running water. There are various kinds of trees; but they are neither large nor thickly placed. The greatest part of them were dragon trees, which produce gum tragacanth. They found no fruit trees. They observed only one quadruped, about the size of a mastiff dog. They saw few land or sea birds, and none large; and marine animals were by no means plentiful, if we except the turtle and manatee.

The inhabitants appeared the most miserable people on earth. Without habitations, without clothing, without any of the conveniences that render life agreeable, they differed only from brutes in their forms. They were tall, straight, and thin. Their limbs were small, their heads large, their foreheads round, and their eye-lids were always half closed. Their noses were large and ill formed; their lips full, and their mouths wide. All of them wanted two foreteeth in the upper jaw; but whether this deficiency arose from nature or art was not ascertained. They were long visaged; had no beards; and, in fine, had not one attractive feature. Their complexions were black, and their hair curled like that of the negroes.

These people, we are told, live in companies of twenty or thirty, men, women, and children together; subsisting chiefly on sea and shell fish. They had no fishing instruments; but caught
their

their prey by placing wiers across little inlets of the sea, and trusted to the tide to bring them a precarious supply, which it left within their reach. They therefore watched the flux of the sea with a sedulous attention, as its bounty was their only dependence; for the earth produced neither herb, root, pulse, nor any kind of grain.

These poor creatures have a sort of weapons, consisting of a piece of wood, shaped somewhat like a cutlass, and a long straight pole, sharpened at the end by fire. With these humble instruments of offence, they made a shew of resistance; but a single gun being fired, drove them in a panic from the shore.

Dampier informs us, that uninviting as the appearance of the natives was, the crew brought some of them to a kind of familiarity, by giving them meat. This they eagerly devoured; but lost in stupid apathy, they paid no regard to the ship, nor seemed to express that wonder which might have been naturally expected from the display of so many novelties.

Here Dampier endeavoured to persuade the men to proceed to some English factory; but Read, who appears to have been fond of his uncomfortable and inglorious power, threatened him with being turned on shore, if he again suggested such a scheme.

This coast furnishing no incentive to avarice, nor even the means of subsistence, they left it on the 12th of March, intending for the Isle of Co-coas; but the wind proving unpropitious for their design, they stood for the islands to the west of Sumatra. After touching at an island undistinguished by any name, where they found some refreshments;

freshments; they arrived at Triste, on the 17th of April, and supplied themselves with turtle.

As they were cruising in these latitudes, they chased and took a proa of Achen, laden with coconuts and cocoa-nut oil, with four men on board, whom they detained as prisoners. They next touched at one of the Nicobar Islands, the inhabitants of which maintained their independence, trading indiscriminately with any nation. Ambergris and fruit were their principal productions; the former of which they artfully adulterate, to increase their gains.

Here Dampier, who had long been dissatisfied with this mode of life, found means to put his long-meditated plan in execution, of leaving his piratical associates. Indeed, a man of the least principle or sentiment, must have felt a constant reluctance to manners so brutal, and to practices so disgraceful. Their desertion of their commander reflected shame on their conduct, which was contrary to those principles, that bind even the villains of society together. True, indeed, Swan did not act prudently, in leaving them so long to themselves to cabal and plot mischief: he might not be a very amiable officer; but on no pretext were his crew justified for their cruel and dastardly desertion of a man to whom they owed some duty, and who was rather unfortunate than criminal in his connection with them. Dampier saw and felt this; but reflecting on his own situation and the disposition of his companions, he concluded that it would be no easy matter to escape from their society. However, knowing that he was not very acceptable to Read, whose conduct he frequently censured, and thwarted his views, he resolved to request being set on shore

at this island, as soon as the ship was ready to sail. Read consented, rather out of aversion than favour; and our adventurer having quickly collected all his little property, persuaded some of the crew to row him to land.

But independent of the anxious desire Dampier felt to abandon such a company, views of interest were blended with his present resolution. He found ambergris was plentiful at Nicobar; and by ingratiating himself with the natives and conforming to their modes of life, he hoped to be able to establish a lucrative traffic in this commodity, and in consequence to make his fortune. Being landed in a sandy bay, he began to congratulate himself on being fairly escaped from his disagreeable associates; but judge his surprize, when Teat arrived soon after with an armed force to fetch him back.

Dampier was obliged to yield to circumstances; and being again brought on board, he found them all in confusion. Several others insisted on being set on shore; among the rest was the surgeon, who leaping into the boat with a loaded gun in his hand, threatened to dispatch the first person that should attempt to prevent his purpose. But the value of this gentleman's services was too well known, to allow them to part with him on such easy terms. One more resolute than the rest, at the risk of his life, wrested the gun from him; and the surgeon was obliged to submit.

However, after this tumult subsided, Read consented again to Dampier's release, together with two companions. Four prisoners, taken out of the Indian proa, were likewise permitted to follow the fortunes of the three forsaken English. Accord-



Corbould del.^t

T. Cook sculp

*The Surgeon attempts to leave the Ship,
but is prevented by a Sailor*

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Accordingly these persons having associated for mutual defence, determined to row to Sumatra, at the distance of forty leagues, for which purpose they purchased a canoe of the natives, for a hatchet; and having taken a sufficient stock of provisions on board, they embarked on this hazardous enterprise on the 10th of May, 1689.

Scarcely had they launched into the deep before the canoe overfet. However, being in the vicinity of land, they escaped in safety by swimming. The chests and fire-arms were recovered; and the powder being sealed up, was preserved from the wet; but the books and papers were considerably damaged.

While the English were employed in drying and preserving the articles which had been injured by the salt-water, their Indian companions were active in equipping the boat in a style better adapted for their undertaking. They provided a stout mast and sail; and to preclude the possibility of the vessel being again overfet, they furnished her with outleaguers, a kind of beams or poles placed across the body of the canoe, which project a yard or two over the sides, and are united at the extremities by transverse boards joined to the end, which, while they remain firm, the boat can neither sink nor overfet.

Having now fitted out their wherry in the most complete manner that circumstances would allow them; they next thought of recruiting their stock of provisions. In order to accomplish this no less necessary purpose, they were obliged to have recourse to a different part of the island. Here some disputes arose from the impolitic conduct of the English towards the natives, which Dampier, by his prudent management, found

means to accommodate ; and having put the natives into good humour, they readily parted with a share of their supplies.

On this occasion Dampier has observed, that there is no people on earth so uncivilized, that he should be afraid to face them, unarmed and alone, if no previous injury had been done them. An European, says he, has it always in his power to insinuate himself into the favour of the most savage people, by some minute attentions and studied forms, which habit has rendered familiar to him. Even a display of the simple method of lighting a match with a flint and steel, is sufficient to captivate the good will of a barbarian. The chief danger is from the first onset ; if that can be avoided, the most ferocious savage may be brought to a mild and tractable behaviour by a slight address.

To the general truth of Dampier's observations we willingly subscribe ; but as there is no rule without an exception, candour obliges us to confess, that there appears to be some nations of such a ferocious disposition, that neither force nor lenity can subdue them. Besides, in the contemplation of some people, the very attempt of a stranger to land on the coast will be construed into an injury, which they may deem it allowable to resent. Different nations have very different sentiments in regard to the conduct due to intruders, from whatever cause or motive. The laws of hospitality are religiously observed among some unpolished people ; among others, every stranger is considered as an enemy.

However, Dampier succeeded so far at Nicobar, as to obtain from the natives, all that the natives were capable of supplying ; and this business

business being accomplished, the party committed themselves to the mercy of the watery element.

At their first setting out, the wind was favourable and the weather warm. They proceeded, rowing and sailing alternately; yet after two days strenuous exertion, they found themselves only four leagues from Nicobar. On this they changed their course; but a contrary current opposing them, they found that they had made but little way on the third day.

Having thus lost the improvement of the fair weather, which attended the commencement of their voyage, by similar incidents, on the fourth day they were threatened with an approaching storm. The wind rose, the sky became overcast, and a halo round the sun, gave indications of danger. Consulting what was best to be done on this emergency, they resolved to furl the sails, and to give up the helm to the wind. These preparations being made, they waited the impending storm with anxious apprehensions.

But it was not long before their fears were realized; the gale came on, and gradually increased. The sea ran mountains high, and breaking over the canoe, every moment menaced to overwhelm her in the deep. But the outleaguers, already described, were of the most essential service; and the general structure of the vessel increased her security. The seas that broke over her, were so divided, that instead of descending with a weight sufficient to sever her frame, they only fell in showers, and were baled out by the incessant application of the Indians.

Dampier and a friend of the name of Hall, both skilful mariners, were attentive to every circumstance that could diminish the danger, or aid

their preservation. Yet when we consider the situation of these adventurers, tossed by a tempest in a vessel of such a crazy fabric, fancy cannot form a picture of more imminent distress. Had their outleaguers failed, the canoe could not have lived a moment.

Dreadful as the day was, the evening approached with aggravated horrors. Darkness, by some physical operation on our minds, always gives a deeper impression to the sense of danger. Dampier, with all his fortitude, seems to have been confounded at the scene before his eyes. All the numerous perils he had passed through affected him less than the present; but let him describe his sensations in his own manner.

The sky, says he, looked very black, being wrapped in sable clouds, the wind blew hard, and the sea was lashed into foam around us. A dark night was coming on, and no land to shelter us, and our little bark in danger of being swallowed up by every wave. What gave a deeper tinge to our distress was the reflection, that none of us were prepared to enter on another state of existence with the confidence of hope. I had encountered many imminent dangers before this; but, compared with the present, the worst of them was only a play-game. I must confess that I was in great perturbation of mind: other distresses came out upon me with such a dreadful solemnity. A sudden skirmish or engagement was nothing, when the blood was warm and invigorated the heart by the glow of expectation; but here I had a lingering view of impending fate, with little or no hopes of avoiding it. My courage, which had hitherto kept me up, now failed me; and I made very sad reflections on my former life,
and

and looked back with horror and detestation on actions which before I could not relish, but at the remembrance of which I now trembled. I had long repented of my roving life; but never with such sincere contrition before.

In this temper of mind, we submitted ourselves to God's good providence, taking all prudent steps for our preservation. Mr. Hall and I steered by turns, while the rest baled out the water. About ten at night, it began to thunder, lighten, and rain; but the rain was very acceptable, as it served to refresh us. The wind at first blew harder than before; but within half an hour, it became more moderate; and the sea abated of its fury. Examining our compass by the help of a lighted match, to see how we steered, we found that we had varied little from our course; and now attempted to bear up to the true point to which our views were directed. About two in the morning, we had another gust of wind, with thunder, lightning, and rain, which again obliged us to give up the helm to the elements. We were now perfectly drenched in rain; and never did poor mariners, on a lee shore, more anxiously look for the dawning light than we. At length day appeared; but with such heavy, sable clouds near the horizon, as gave an impressive gloom to the first glimpse of light.

Continuing our course before the wind till the following morning, one of our Indian comrades then cried out Puloway. We thinking the fellow had said Pull away, were at a loss to conceive his meaning; but presently observing his motions, we found he pointed to his companions to shew them land. This was a transporting sight. The wind was west, and the land bore south; nevertheless

vertheless we bore up for it with all our might; and next day we ran up Passage Jonca, in the Isle of Sumatra, where all fell ill of fevers, of which some died; and I, who survived, was a whole year before I recovered my strength.

Thus Dampier describes his feelings and toils, during the storm he encountered in his passage to Sumatra. Having reached the shore, they were kindly entertained by the natives; as their Indian associates had represented the whole party as fellow prisoners on board the piratical vessels, and that they were set on shore together. The latter circumstance being true, gave a verisimilitude to the first.

Here Dampier and Hall were much importuned by the natives to take up their residence, in order to improve them in the art of building and navigating vessels; but it may be readily conceived that Sumatra was not their desired land of rest. On the contrary, as there was an English factory at Achen, they made it their choice to be conveyed thither; and arrived in three days after their embarkation. At this place the Englishmen were kindly received and well entertained; but Dampier's ill state of health continuing, he had recourse to a Malayan professor of physic, who gave him a violent drastic medicine, of such rough operation as had well nigh finished the patient. Desperate, however, as the remedy seemed to be, it had a beneficial effect: our adventurer seems to have been blessed with the stamina of a sound constitution; he bore the operation of the medicine, and daily afterwards recovered strength.

The Indians who accompanied Dampier belonged to this very place; and on being restored

to their families and country, it may well be supposed their felicitation was extreme.

As soon as Dampier's health began to mend, he undertook to sail to Nicobar with a Captain Bowry, with whom he had formerly had an incidental correspondence. Accordingly they embarked, and sailed from the Road of Achen, on the beginning of June 1690; but a storm obliged them to return. Meanwhile Captain Weldon arriving, Dampier was induced to undertake a voyage with him to Tonquin. This being a commercial voyage, the details are not very interesting. They left the river of Tonquin on the month of February 1691, and after a short stay at Malacca, made for Achen.

Dampier describes this kingdom as the most populous of all the petty states in Sumatra. In his time the capital contained eight thousand houses. The inhabitants are Mahometans of Malayan extraction. The sceptre was then swayed by a queen; and though, in the early voyages to the East Indies, we read of the Kings of Achen, our author is positive, that for many years a female was always promoted to the throne. He says, she must be of the royal line and a maid; that she is in a manner confined to her own palace; and that the principal direction of affairs is trusted to twelve orankays, or great men of the kingdom.

From Achen, Dampier set sail under the command of Captain Minchin, who had purchased a vessel there. They made a trading voyage to Malacca; but no particulars have transpired worthy of being transmitted to posterity. They were prosperous in their undertaking, and returned with a valuable cargo. In the course of
their

their voyage, they touched at a Dutch island, named Dinding, lying near the continent. They found it inhabited only by Dutchmen, who had a pretty strong fort for their defence, and a garrison of thirty soldiers. Here the governor shewed great civility to the English, and invited them to supper; in the midst of which they were alarmed with a false rumour of a number of Malaysians from the continent.

Some months elapsed in which we find nothing to record in Dampier's life. During his stay at Fort St. George, a vessel laden with clove-bark, from Mindanao, arrived there, having on board a Mr. Moody, in quality of supercargo.

We have previously mentioned, that a native prince had solicited Read to carry him from Mindanao to his own country. He belonged to Meangis. This prince and his mother, having been driven off the coast in a tempest, had been seized at sea by some Mindanaoesse fishermen, who sold them for slaves. Moody being at that time on the island, his attention was attracted by the curious manner in which this unfortunate personage was painted; and considering him as a curiosity, purchased him with an intention of carrying him to England. But the governor of Fort St. George offering this gentleman the place of chief of Indrapore, he endeavoured to engage Dampier to accompany him, in capacity of gunner; and to encourage him to comply with his wishes, promised to procure and fit out a vessel to transport the prince and his mother to their native country, of which Dampier was to have the command, and authority to establish a trade at Meangis. This offer and its consequent advantages appeared too plausible to be rejected; and

and accordingly our adventurer embarked in the scheme, and proceeded for the new settlement.

They had fair and pleasant weather, till they arrived on the western side of Sumatra, when a storm arising, drove them into the harbour of Bencouli. Here they were hospitably entertained; and Dampier, being solicited to undertake the office of gunner of the fort, obtained his patron's permission to close with the proposal, who began to hesitate if it would be in his power to fulfil his original promise of equipping him, to convey the prince to his own country. — Moody also assigned him a half share in the two slaves who remained in his custody at Bencouli, while the chief repaired to his station at Indrapore.

For a short time Dampier discharged his function here to the satisfaction of his employer; but soon growing weary of his station, probably from a desire of visiting his native land, he solicited and obtained permission to resign; but at present there was no ship to be obtained in which he could engage a passage home. However, in course of time, the Defence, Captain Heath, bound for England, arrived; and Dampier was eager to embrace the opportunity which now presented itself to his wishes. But he had the mortification to find, that instead of free liberty to embark, a peremptory refusal was put on his leaving the place.

This ship, it appears, had touched at Indrapore, and Goddard, the chief mate, had obtained, from the chief of that settlement, the moiety of the two slaves in Dampier's possession. Being now partners, in this singular property, the mate used all his interest to procure the release of Dampier from his engagements, but in vain.

The

The prince, however, now reduced to the situation of a common slave, was put on board the *Defence* by mutual agreement. He was but just recovered from an infectious disorder, of which his mother had died; and to his honour be it known, on this melancholy occasion, he evinced such filial affection, as would be reckoned extraordinary among the most humanized nations.

This Indian, who was named Jealy, Dampier consoled on the loss of his parent by every soothing argument and attention; but the impression grief had made on him was so deep, that it was feared he would not long survive her. A grave was therefore immediately dug to bury the body, which was wrapped in a piece of fine new calico; but the son could not be satisfied till she was dressed out in a funeral style, more befitting her former rank. Her last obsequies were performed with much solemnity; and the prince long continued to display a sensibility, which might have melted the most obdurate into pity for his fate.

The Governor of Bencouli remaining inflexible, Captain Heath entered into a private agreement to receive Dampier on board, in case he could make his escape. Having no other chance of revisiting his native land, he set every engine to work, to prepare for an elopement; trusting implicitly to Heath's honour; and his dependence was not misplaced.

All things being ready and the ship about to weigh, private notice was given to Dampier, that now was the time to make a final attempt. After various essays, he watched the hour of repose, and creeping through one of the port holes of the fort, escaped to the ship's boat; and to his inexpressible

pressible joy, immediately failed, on the 25th of January 1691.

For some time the winds and weather were favourable; and they had the pleasing prospect of a successful voyage. But they had not been long at sea before a singular distemper broke out, which universally affected the crew in a greater or less degree. In a short time there were scarcely hands enough to manage the ship, when circumstances required their utmost exertion.

Dampier assigns the original badness of their water as one cause of this malady. He also particularizes another collateral cause, which was its being stowed among the pepper in the hold, which rendered it so hot, that a man could scarcely bear to hold a bottle, filled with it, in his hand. While the crew were in a very melancholy condition, the humanity and good sense of the captain suggested a pleasant relief. He had brought with him from India several jars of tamarinds, and by a seasonable distribution of this cooling fruit, greatly assisted the most afflicted.

The wind, however, continuing foul, and the passage already protracted, being likely to be still more tedious, Captain Heath, calling all his men together, desired their individual opinions relative to their future proceedings in this exigency. The result was, that they should persevere in their attempts to proceed towards the Cape of Good Hope.

But now another difficulty arose from the adoption of this resolution. To put it in force, it was necessary for those who were in health, to use extraordinary exertions, in order to supply the place of the impotent sick. Here the captain's policy shone as conspicuous as his humanity had done before. He promised a month's ex-

tra pay to every one who would engage to assist on all occasions, when required, whether it was his watch or not. The proposal was at first embraced by the officers, and then by all the men capable of performing duty.

This wise expedient had the desired effect: and in a short time the wind springing up fair, which being improved to the best advantage, by the incessant labour of those new-enlisted men, they were quickly wafted to the Cape. Here, by the assistance of one hundred Dutch sailors, the ship was safely brought to anchor; and the sick being landed, in a few weeks they became convalescent, with the exception of three or four, who died.

After continuing six weeks at the Cape, they took their departure, in company with the *James* and *Mary* and the *Joseph* East Indiamen, shaping their course towards St. Helena; but soon after doubling the Cape, they were incommoded by a swelling sea. They arrived, however, at St. Helena, without any accident, on the 20th of June, and after a short stay, proceeded for England; and after a very prosperous voyage, arrived in the Downs on the 16th of September, 1691.

Thus, after an absence of several years, and undergoing as many vicissitudes of fortune as could be well crowded into the space, Dampier returned in safety to his country. But this blessing was denied the Prince of Meangis. This unfortunate Indian, falling exclusively into the hands of Dampier, and he being in want of money, soon after his arrival, sold him to some people who carried him about the kingdom for a show. To enhance the value of the curiosity they exhibited, a number of ridiculous stories were fabricated and reported concerning him,

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which

which it was not in his power to contradict. Among other fictions, they gave out that the paint with which he was adorned, was a security against the sting of venomous creatures; and that one of his sisters, of exquisite beauty, was sultaneſs of Mindanao.

With regard to the colouring of this prince, it was curiouſly wrought in a great variety of lines, flouriſhes, chequered work, and different convolutions; keeping a very graceful proportion, and appearing very ingenious and artificial to the moſt enlightened ſpectators. In ſine, he was neither more nor leſs than tatooed, a practice now well known to be general among ſeveral of the nations that people the iſlands of the Pacific Ocean.

After going through all the revolutions incident to this vagrant kind of life, we are told that the Prince of Meangis fell ſick of the ſmall-pox at Oxford, where he gave up the ghoſt; and he furniſhes us with one among the myriads of inſtances that might be produced, of the inſtability of fortune, and of the little confidence that ought to be placed on any external diſtinctions.

Dampier, who had hitherto moved in a ſubordinate ſphere of life, was ſo much celebrated by his voyages and adventures, that he was afterwards employed by government, in the honourable capacity of captain of a ſhip, for the expreſs purpoſe of making diſcoveries; but though we cannot deny him the praiſe of activity, in this new line, he does not ſeem to have met with any remarkable ſucceſs.

The Roebuck, of twelve guns and fifty men, with twenty months proviſions on board, being fitted out for diſcoveries, Dampier was appointed to

the command ; and left the Downs on the 14th of January, 1698, with a favourable wind. He met with nothing remarkable in his long voyage to New Holland, where he arrived in safety ; but added little to the account he had previously given of this coast, in his voyage round the world. He saw no other quadruped here, than a species of racoon : we suppose he means the kangaroo. He also noticed a lizard, which he describes as having legs so constructed, that it can neither walk backwards nor forwards ; and being without a tail, had the appearance of possessing two heads. Such futile remarks are scarcely worth recording ; but they are the remarks of Dampier, who it seems, on a barren coast, wished to lay hold of the most barren subjects to display his faculty for observation.

Here Dampier was much distressed for want of water ; and while he was on shore, digging a well, he was attacked by a small party of the natives. One of his people being surrounded and wounded with a lance, it was thought proper to fire among them. A gun being discharged over their heads, made them start, but had not the desired effect : however, the next fire killed one of the savages, on which the rest fled in consternation.

Among the savages, in this engagement, was one who had the appearance of being a chief. He was neither so tall nor comely as the rest ; but he shewed more activity and courage. He had a white circle painted round his eyes, and a white streak down his nose, from his forehead to its tip. This seemed to be wore by way of distinction ; and rather to make him formidable to his enemies than agreeable to his friends.

In

In this second visit to New Holland, Dampier confirms what he had said in his first, that the natives of this coast are the most disagreeable people he ever saw; while Captain Cooke gives a very different account of them. Few see with impartial optics; and personal beauty to one may appear deformity to another; but moral beauty is every where the same, in every climate where man is known. Perhaps, however, the discordant opinions of these two celebrated navigators may be reconciled, by observing, that the one visited the eastern and the other the western coasts of New Holland; and in such an immense track, a great disparity among the natives may reasonably exist.

In September 1699, Dampier bid adieu to this inhospitable land, where he could neither find fresh-water nor a harbour proper for careening his ship; and arriving at Timor, on the 15th of the same month, met with a friendly reception from the Dutch and Portuguese factories.

From thence he sailed to New Guinea, where, finding the land divided into two parts, he gave the appellation of New Britain to the eastern shore. On his return, he touched again at Timor; and from thence sailed to Batavia, where he took in supplies. Thus provided, he proceeded for the Cape of Good Hope, and having doubled it, reached St. Helena in the last day of January 1700.

In his course homewards, his vessel sprang a leak; and in order to save her, he was forced to run her aground on the Island of Ascension. Here his men landed, and conveyed their provisions from the wreck. They afterwards had the good fortune to discover a fine spring of water.

After remaining some time on this desolate island, Dampier and his men were taken up by the Canterbury East Indiaman, and safely landed in England.

It might have been supposed that so many disasters would have deterred Dampier from any farther enterprises by sea. But his roving disposition was not yet gratified; and disappointments seem to have had little effect on his resolution.

Still panting for distinction in his profession, it was not easy to resist the opportunities that offered of gratifying his darling passion. Accordingly, in 1703, we find him again employed in concert with Captain Pulling, in an expedition to the South Seas. Dampier's ship was named the Prince George, and Pullings the Fame. They were commissioned by George, Prince of Denmark, then lord high admiral, to cruise against the French and Spaniards, and were victualled for nine months.

But though these adventurers were commissioned by government, it seems their expedition was of a private nature; and symptoms of disagreement, so usual in privateering and predatory schemes, early began to appear among the commanders and their crews. Scarcely had they left the Downs before Captain Pulling deserted his consort; and Dampier being left alone, stopped some time on the coast of Ireland, where he was joined by the Cinque Port galley, of sixteen guns and sixty-three men, commanded by Captain Pickering.

Dampier set sail from Kinsale, in Ireland, warm with the hopes of success in his favourite projects, which were to surprise the Spanish galleons at Buenos Ayres; but if he should miss them,

them, to proceed through the Straights of Magellan, and to cruise on the coast of Peru for the Baldivia ships, which transport the gold to Lima. Should he fail in both these enterprises, his third attempt was to be on the Manilla ship, that annually arrives at the town of Acapulco.

Dampier and his consort arriving at the Madeiras, were given to understand that the galleons had left Buenos Ayres, and were then at Teneriffe; and thus the first part of their plan was rendered abortive. As time was not now to be lost, on receiving this intelligence, they proceeded on their voyage to the Island of Le Grand, on the coast of Brasil, where Captain Pickering departed this life, and Lieutenant Stradling was promoted in his place.

Leaving this island, they doubled Cape Horn on the 20th of January 1704; and soon after the two vessels parted in a violent storm. Dampier now changing his route, sailed for Juan Fernandez. Anchoring there, he fortunately fell in with his consort, and having refitted the ships, they descried a sail, to which they immediately gave chase. Dampier fought her for seven hours without success: the galley took little part in the engagement. Returning to Juan Fernandez, they narrowly escaped being captured by two French men of war; and were glad to escape with the loss of their anchors, cables, and five of their men that were left behind.

The Baldivian ships were the second object of their pursuit; but they too had sailed, and the gold was secured. Thus disappointed, they determined to attack the town of Santa Maria in the Gulph of Panama; but the Spaniards being apprized of their intentions, laid an ambuscade for them,

them, and after some loss, the remainder purchased safety by flight.

Dispirited by a repetition of ill success, the commanders were ready to separate, when fortunately a large ship came to an anchor close by them, deeply laden with flour, sugar, brandy, wine, and other valuable commodities. They boarded and took her without resistance, and refreshed the men with this acceptable supply.

After this, the two captains parted company; and soon after Dampier fell in with a Spanish ship of war, which had been fitted out to take him; but after a smart engagement, they parted in the night by mutual consent. The demon of discord now raging among the men, Clippington, the first lieutenant, seized the ship's tender, with the stores, ammunition and twenty-one of the crew; and when he had cleared the islands, gave an invitation to all who chose to follow his fortunes to join him. It is probable that Dampier would have been totally abandoned, had not the hopes of his falling in with the Manilla ship kept a party steady to his interest. Clippington, to prove that he was not devoid of generosity, returned the greatest part of the stores and ammunition.

Meanwhile, Dampier took a small bark, laden with plantains, which he designed to keep for a tender, and named her the Dragon. The master of this bark, Christian Martin, was a native of Spain; but had been educated in England. Him they secured, and then proceeded on their last grand project to attack the Manilla ship, with which they came up on the 6th of December; and giving her several broadsides, before she was prepared to return the compliment, threw her crew into great confusion. Martin advised them
to

to lay their vessel immediately aboard, before the Spaniards could recover from their disorder. The want of discipline frustrated all their plans: at a time when prompt obedience and ready service were indispensably requisite, the crew of the St. George were wrangling whether they should follow the prudent advice of Martin or not. They now lost the opportunity of retrieving their error. The Spaniards bringing their guns to bear, by dint of superior weight of metal, beat off the English, in disgrace, and had well nigh sent them to the bottom; and thus the golden prospects of the adventurers were finally closed. The sailors, however, were prevailed on to cruise for some weeks longer on the coast of Mexico; but met with nothing of importance, and every day increased their anxiety to return.

At this period a party, at the head of which was Mr. Funnel, who commanded the Spanish prize, projected a design of sailing home by the East Indies. The owner's agent, acceding to his plan, divided the provisions; and Funnel sailed with thirty-three men, while twenty-seven still adhered to Dampier. Of the subsequent transactions of this gentleman we have no account, except that he safely arrived in England.

After various reverses of fortune, Funnel's vessel was seized by the Dutch, the effects confiscated, and the crew imprisoned, and nearly starved. The commander himself obtained an inadequate redress for the injuries he had sustained; and, with two or three of his company, got a passage for Europe, and arrived in the Texel, in July 1705. After visiting the principal towns in Holland, he returned to England, and published an account of his unfortunate voyage.

The reader may perhaps be curious to know what became of Read and Teat, from whom Dampier separated. It seems that, after leaving Nicobar, they sailed for Ceylon; but not being able to weather that island, they proceeded to the coast of Coromandel, where a mutinous disposition in the crew giving rise to new projects, Read was deserted, in his turn, by more than half his men. These revolvers split into different parties; but the main body of them went up the country, and enlisted in the service of the Great Mogul. Subordination and discipline, however, they had not been accustomed to, and could not endure: they soon forsook the camp, and following the bent of their dispositions, ravaged the villages in the country.

Read set sail with the party that remained firm to him, intending for the Red Sea. Off Ceylon he took a rich Portuguese ship, and plundered her of what he valued most; but not being able to bear up against the westerly winds, he stood for Madagascar. After a variety of piratical adventures, finding his interest still sinking, he slipped away with about half a dozen of his most faithful adherents, and embarked for New York.

Teat, who succeeded to the command, having joined Captain Knight, an old associate, sailed some time in company with him; but Knight, leaving the *Cygnet* when in distress, she at last sunk in the bay of St. Augustine in Madagascar.

Such was the final end of all the schemes of Swan's piratical crew. That the love of gain should tempt men to occasional acts of dishonesty may be accounted for, though not palliated, on the principle of human frailty; but that men should

should be found capable of such unremitted fatigues and dangers, for which they never enjoyed a compensation, and yet still persevere in their abandoned courses, must astonish the prudent, and confound the moralist.

Dampier fell into the lure of temptation; but though he for a time stifled the dictates of conscience, he does not appear to have been insensible to the principles of rectitude. With a bluntness of manners, he seems to have possessed a considerable share of humanity. A desire of novelty or of knowledge was his predominant passion: this he had an opportunity of gratifying; but in his aims at independence, he appears to have been generally disappointed. On the whole, Dampier was certainly a very able navigator, rather than an able man. We find him again engaged in the expedition of Woodes Rogers. Of his latter days we have no account; but it is probable he died in the bosom of peace and of his country.

VOYAGE AND ADVENTURES

OF

*CAPTAIN COWLEY.**

THE buccaneering profession produced a hardy race of mariners in general; and among them are some names eminent for their abilities in naval affairs. Cowley, as well as Dampier, belonged to this fraternity, and, for some time, they sailed in the same ship. Afterwards, following the fortunes of different commanders, they both favoured the world with an account of their various transactions; and though Cowley's voyage has not gained the deserved celebrity of Dampier's, we should think ourselves guilty of an omission, did we not present our readers with its leading features.

Of Cowley's origin and education we know nothing. His powers of description shew that he was not without some advantages of learning; but the degree of this does not seem to be much more than was necessary for his profession.

He tells us that he sailed from Cape Charles in Virginia, in the *Revenge*, Captain Cook,

* Though Cowley is generally complimented with the cheap title of Captain, it does not appear that he ever filled a higher station than that of master, in which capacity he acquitted himself to the general satisfaction of his employers.

August 1683, with a view of navigating the ship to Petit Guaves, whither he directed his course. Scarcely, however, had he left the shore, before he received intimation to proceed for Guinea; where, after furnishing themselves with a ship adapted to their purpose, they were to cruise in the Pacific Ocean.

At St. Nicholas, one of the Cape Verd Islands, a consultation was held, to determine whether it would be most advisable to sail directly, in their present ship, into the South Seas; or to accommodate themselves with a better, according to the original scheme. The general opinion was, that they should look into the road of St. Jago, in their immediate vicinity, where it was probable they might find a vessel to their minds.

On approaching this island, they descried a large ship, which proved to be a Dutch East Indiaman, of fifty guns and four hundred men, most of whom were on shore; but seeing the buccaneers sailing towards the road, they immediately repaired to their posts on board, and made every thing ready for action. The pirates now began to be sensible of their temerity, in attempting a ship of such superior force; and finding that it would be vain to expect a conquest, they were glad to take the advantage of the wind, and sheer off.

They immediately sailed for Guinea; and no sooner had they reached the coast, than they fell in with a capital new ship, of forty guns, which they boarded and carried off. On examination, she proved to be well stored with brandy, water, and other provisions. Elated with this cheap and valuable prize, they transferred the most useful stores and necessaries from their old ship
August 1683 on

on board her; and made such preparations as might enable them to reach the Island of Juan Fernandez, without touching at any intermediate place.

Having succeeded in this first design, they steered for the Brazilian coast, and afterwards came into 47 deg. south latitude. Here they discovered an uninhabited island, to which they gave the name of Peppy's Island. Cowley says, it has a harbour where one thousand ships may ride in safety, and that it is well adapted for wooding and watering at. On this spot they saw plenty of fowls; and gave the sea credit for being equally prolific in fish; but as it blew a storm, they could neither approach the island, nor examine its coasts.

Standing to the southward, for Terra del Fuego, when they arrived on that coast, there was such a rippling of the sea, that they were apprehensive of danger, which induced them to attempt the passage discovered by Bartholomew Sharp, in 1681, and to leave Staten Land to the north.

On the 14th of February, they came abreast of Cape Horn, on which day, while they were amusing themselves with drawing valentines, a violent storm arose, which ended only with the month. During its fury, they were driven to a high south latitude, where the weather was so cold, that, to use the quaint expression of Cowley, "they could drink three quarts of burnt brandy a piece without being intoxicated."

However, in the beginning of March, the wind veering to the south, carried them into a warmer climate. In the course of their voyage, they fell in with the Nicholas, Captain Eaton, in

confort with which they failed to the Island of Juan Fernandez.

After a short stay there, as related in Dampier's voyage, they made the high land of Arica; and held a consultation, whether they should enter the bay. This being decided in the negative, occasioned the loss, as they afterwards found, of a rich prize, laden with silver, which was then lying in Arica Bay, and might easily have been captured.

It being resolved that they should proceed to Cape Blanco, in order to intercept the Plate fleet from Panama, in their way they took a ship, with which they failed to Lobos; and then concerted an attack on Truxillo.

Having taken several prizes, of no very considerable value, they lay by at the Gallipagos, or Enchanted Islands; and afterwards touched at the Duke of York's Island, near the equinoctial line. Here they found the fowls so tame, that they often lighted on the heads and shoulders of the men as they walked out; but after being repeatedly shot at, they became shy and timid, as in other places. Thus we see it is the tyranny of man that spreads fear over the lower classes of creation; where his powers are unknown, he is treated as an equal, or trusted as a friend.

Sailing from thence, they made Cape Trespointew, where their captain departed this life. The Indians soon resorting to the buccaneers, were strictly examined in regard to the strength and opulence of Ria Lexa, on which heads they gave satisfactory information. Meanwhile, the long boat being sent on shore, to procure cattle, a party of Spaniards set her on fire, and drove the crew for shelter to a rock in the bosom of the sea.

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The singular manner in which these men were preserved, has already been detailed in Dampier's voyage. Here an unsuccessful attempt was made on Ria Lexa.

The buccaneers having careened their ships, in the Bay of Amapalla, Captain Eaton, accompanied by our voyager, resolved to separate from his consorts, with whom he had sometime sailed and acted. Being now at liberty to chuse his route, Eaton steered for Cape St. Francisco; and coming to Paita, burnt two ships, which the Spaniards refused to ransom. Thus mischief, not gain, was the reward of their toils.

On the 14th of March, they came in sight of the Isle of Guam, with a crew universally afflicted with the scurvy. As soon as they had secured the ship, they sent a boat ashore, with a flag of truce; but found that the natives, through fear, had set fire to their habitations, and fled. However, the party collected some cocoa nuts, which proved a salutary refreshment to the sick. Meanwhile some Indians rushed from an ambush, and made a show of hostilities; but the English shewing signs of friendship, a truce was concluded, and a free intercourse established. This continued for some days; but the Indians thinking they had obtained an advantage, attacked a party of the buccaneers, in which affray four of the former were killed. This brought the rest to their senses; and for some time the English maintained an undisputed superiority over the natives.

The Spanish governor, having heard of a strange ship on the coast, came down to the shore; and sent off a letter for the captain, in Spanish, French, and Dutch, demanding, in the

name of the king, his master, the country and business of the strangers. An answer was returned in French, importing that their object was discoveries, on which they were employed by some French gentlemen.

This fiction succeeding, the governor invited the captain on shore; on which occasion a military salute was fired, and other civilities interchanged. Eaton, soon coming to a good understanding with the governor, apologized to him for killing some of the Indians in the late encounter, which he fairly represented was done in his own defence; but the Spaniard soon made him easy on this score, by assuring him, that, if he had killed them all, the greater obligations he should have felt himself under to him.

The buccaneers were now plentifully supplied with provisions from the shore, and the captain made a prudent distribution of presents to the principal Spanish officers, in return.

On an application being made by the governor to Captain Eaton for some powder, four barrels were immediately sent; and at the same time an offer of as many great guns. The guns were politely refused, as not being wanted; and a box, containing sixteen hundred pieces of eight, was dispatched by a messenger, out of which the captain was to pay himself for the powder. This handsome and honourable conduct, on the part of the Spanish governor, seems to have had a correspondent effect on the mind of Eaton: he returned the money untouched, and seems, for the moment, to have forgot that he was a plunderer, and to have felt the dignity of honest independence.

During

During these amicable transactions between the Spaniards and the English, it is shocking to relate, that the latter, in consequence of the sanction they had procured, amused themselves in chasing and destroying the Indians. But these poor people, finding that the new comers were not Spaniards, soon became tractable and submissive. Peace again resumed her sway; but it seems that the barbarity with which the natives had been treated, had taught them habitual dissimulation. One day, while the English were observing them hauling the seine, and seemed amused with their performance, the Indians artfully drew their seine round the boat, with an intention of entangling it, and mastering the crew; but the stratagem being perceived, the buccancers did not wait till it could be put in execution; for, being provided with arms, they fired among the thickest of the plotters, and made terrible havoc.

Cowley observes, that these natives are large of stature, some of them being seven feet and a half high; that they go quite naked; and use slings and lances, in the management of which they are very dexterous. He farther says, that they never bury their dead, but leave them to rot in the sun.

The English took four prisoners in this affray, whom they brought bound on board; but they had not been long there, before three of them leaped into the sea, and, though their hands were tied behind them, swam away like fishes. However, a boat being sent after them, they were all dispatched. Our author assures us, that a strong man could not penetrate their skins with the first stroke of a cutlass. He adds, “ one of
2 “ them

them, in my judgment, received forty bullets in his body before he died; and the last of the three that was killed, swam a good English mile, not only with his hands tied behind him, but with his arms pinioned, before he expired." Such are the exaggerations which throw a veil of doubt over narratives apparently authentic!

The buccaneers were well rewarded for this fresh massacre of the Indians. The governor was so well pleased with their inhuman destruction of the savages, that he increased his bounty according to their merits in this way.

The ship being now repaired, the health of the crew recruited, and a sufficient stock of provisions laid in, they took leave of the governor, and left Guam on the 4th of April, and passing some uninhabited islands north of Luconia, they came up with Cape Mindato in that island; but were forced, by the south-west monsoon, to steer for Canton in China.

Here, it seems, they might have made an easy capture of thirteen Tartarian vessels, laden with rich goods, of which the Tartars had plundered the Chinese; but, though the buccaneers were sufficiently rapacious, they could not agree to submit to discipline; and this capital chance was lost.

From Canton they proceeded for Manilla, in quest of the annual ship; and were tantalized with a sight of her; but, by dint of swift sailing, she escaped their pursuit. This was a disappointment they could not easily brook.

Dejected and out of humour, they now bore away for an island to the north of Luconia, where it was their intention to remain till the
wind

wind should favour their voyage to Bantam. While in the vicinity of Luconia, they supplied themselves with goats, guanoes, and fruit; and were directed to a place where they might be furnished with plenty of cattle.

The wind proving favourable, they proceeded to the southward; and, in the 10th degree of north latitude, were so entangled by a cluster of islands, that they were in imminent danger of being shipwrecked. However, they escaped, and arrived at a small island near Borneo. They seem, indeed, to have cautiously avoided touching at any place where they were likely to be encountered by a superior force. On this island they hauled up the ship, erected a tent, and fortified themselves in the strongest manner possible.

At first the natives, having never before seen any white people, were very reserved. A canoe, full of women, among whom was the queen of the island, accidentally falling in with them, leaped into the sea; but being taken up and kindly treated, the people, by degrees, became familiarized to their visitors; and supplied them with such fruits as the island produced. A traffic was also established with the natives for musk, civet, and bezoar.

After a considerable stay here, the buccaneers departed, and steered for Timor. The mutinous disposition of the crew having long relaxed all discipline, and being now carried to an alarming height, Cowley, one Hill, and eighteen others, separated from the rest, and having purchased a large boat, sailed for Java. The wind proving adverse for their reaching Batavia, they made for Cheriboa, a Dutch factory to the eastward,

ward, where the governor received them with kindness.

This small faction here split into three parties; two of which concluded to sail for the Bay of Bengal; while the third, consisting of Cowley, Hill, and another intimate friend, proceeded to Batavia. Their reception here was very friendly, and they were promised a passage to Europe in the Dutch East India fleet.

At this period, the general was equipping five ships of war, to procure satisfaction from the native powers, for the massacre of eighty Hollanders. These ships, however, were first designed against Sillebar, an English settlement on the coast of Sumatra; and Cowley, hearing of this, wished to embark, with his friends, for that port. The Dutch refusing them permission, they endeavoured to secure a sloop, to carry them to the same place; but it being an established law, that no vessel was to be sold to a foreigner, they were again disappointed in their views.

In consequence of this failure, they embarked on board the Solida East Indiaman, bound to Holland; and saw their old commander's ship coming in, just as they were sailing out, of the road.

The wind not being fair, they turned down to Bantam, where they took in provisions, and from thence steered to Prince's Island; and, after some delay there, they stood for the Cape of Good Hope. In their passage thither, the Dutch captain died. On the 3d of June they anchored at the Cape.

Soon after, our author informs us, four of the natives came down to the city, dancing, naked,
and

and making a tender of their females to the Hollanders for a bit of tobacco. In this respect, Cowley differs from the generality of voyagers, who represent the Hottentots as far from being immoral, or indifferent to the conduct of their wives.

He proceeds, “ they were the filthiest men I ever saw. Next day I walked round the town, in which there are about one hundred houses, built very low ; but there is a strong castle belonging to the Dutch with eighty guns, well mounted, and a spacious garden, replete with a vast variety of plants. This was the greatest curiosity we saw at the Cape. We proceeded beyond the town, to a village inhabited by the Hottentots, or Hodmandods, as the Hollanders term them. These people are said to be born white ; but acquire a sable hue, by anointing their bodies, and exposing their infants to the sun and smoke. Their houses are built, like the cabins of the wild Irish, with the fire-place in the middle, round which they lie in common, covered with the skin of some beast. They eat every thing that is foul ; and will rake from the dunghill the offal thrown there by the Dutch to feed their dogs. The men are not jealous of foreigners ; but are vigilant and severe in regard to their own countrymen. When the women marry, they cut off a joint of the middle finger ; and if the husband dies, another joint is amputated ; and so many men as they marry, so many joints they lose. They are supposed to worship the moon, because, at the full and change, they assemble in great numbers, dancing and rejoicing while she shines ; but howling and lamenting, when they are deprived of her light.”

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The accounts which different relaters give us of what they have seen or observed, though sometimes contradictory in part, are only different shades of the same picture; and may serve to amuse by contrast, or to illustrate by coincidence. For details we adhere to those delineations alone, which the concurring testimony of mankind has sanctioned as just; but we should deny our readers a reasonable gratification, did we not incidentally mark the outlines of every particular journal.

While Cowley remained at the Cape, he had an opportunity of witnessing the funeral ceremonies practised among the natives. One of them having drank with the Europeans till he was suffocated, his countrymen assembled round him, and poured oil and milk down his throat, in hopes that he might still be recovered; but finding their efforts vain, and that the vital spark was for ever gone, they prepared for his interment. They first shaved him from head to foot; then, digging a hole in the ground, they carefully placed him in a fitting posture, with his body and head erect, and his legs and thighs stretched out horizontally, and pressed down straight. This performed, they propped him up with stones in the attitude they had given him. Then a company of women arrived to howl over him; who accompanied their lamentations with such horrid screams, as if death had been personified before their eyes, and ready to seize them. The period of bewailing over, they closed up the grave, and covered it with green turf.

On the 15th of June, they left the Cape in company with three other ships. Next day there was an entertainment on board; and, while engaged

gaged in mirth and festivity, Cowley says, they were alarmed with a strange voice crying, *Come help! come help! a man overboard!* The vessel being brought too, they sought in vain for the drowned person; and no man was found missing in either of the ships. On this, it seems, they drew a conclusion, founded on gross notions of superstition, to which sailors, above all other people, are addicted, that this strange voice proceeded from the spirit of some person who had been drowned in those latitudes. That a race of men, inured to dangers, and with minds, in some measure, enlightened by an intercourse with various nations, should be so strongly tainted with superstition, may appear astonishing; but the fact is, that the inferences to be drawn from their conduct on many occasions, are opposite to what might be expected from their habits and pursuits.

On the 20th of July they passed Ascension; and in this latitude, a council of war was held on the captain of the ship in which Cowley sailed. The charge against him was, that he had formed a conspiracy, with five men more, to murder a person of quality and his lady, with some other passengers; and having secured their riches, to run away with the ship. The purser was the principal accuser: but, on examination, the whole story seemed so improbable, that the captain was honourably acquitted, and the villain punished who had broached the charge.

Soon after, the captain died of an inflammation in his bowels; and the steersman was promoted to the command, though not without opposition. This was the third captain in the course of their homeward-bound voyage.

On the 19th of August, Cowley descried land, which he supposed to be the Isle of Shetland; but the captain for some hours disputed the accuracy of his observation. Three days after they came up with the Isle of Farley; and on the 25th, they had the wind all round the compass.

Before their arrival in Holland, Cowley and his friends wished to be put on board an English ship, that they spoke in their course; but the Dutch insisted on their proceeding to Helvoet-fluys, where they arrived on the 1st of October. Their passage from Batavia occupied the long period of seven months.

After a short stay in Holland, Cowley returned to his native land.

It may be proper to remark, that in this account of Cowley's voyage, we have only selected such particulars as differ from Dampier's, or are related in a different manner.

Cowley's history is only to be traced in this voyage round the world. His future pursuits, and the time of his death, have not reached us. He appears to have been a skilful navigator, of a placid temper, and not much attached to the piratical tribe with which, to his discredit, he was some time connected. Like Dampier, he abandoned them, when reflection pointed out the propriety, and opportunity favoured him for doing so.

VOYAGE OF

CAPTAIN WOODDES ROGERS,

ROUND THE WORLD.

FEW voyages are attended with a greater number of singular circumstances, and more curious events than this.

Though the most resolute must yield to the pressure of untoward circumstances, the noble spirit will rise superior to events, and communicate its ardour to others. Notwithstanding Dampier's ill success in the South Seas, on his return to England, he strenuously exerted himself, among the merchants in the capital, to procure the equipment of a squadron to attack the Manilla ships. But whether they regarded him as a restless speculator, or questioned the practicability of the scheme, certain it is, that he met with little attention in London. Still prepossessed with a favourable idea of this enterprise, he repaired to Bristol, where he had the good fortune to engage nineteen gentlemen and merchants to enter into an association for the prosecution of his purpose. And by competent judges, it has been allowed, that never was an expedition of this kind so happily adjusted, and so well provided for in all respects. Care was taken not only to forward success, but as far as possible to prevent miscarriage: a high degree of credit is,

therefore, due to the conductors of this undertaking.

The first object of their attention was to engage proper officers, in which they seem to have been peculiarly fortunate. Captain Woodes Rogers, the commodore, was a bold, active, indefatigable officer; firm to his purpose, and not easily susceptible of the adulation that would tempt him to do wrong. He possessed the happiest art of maintaining authority without rigour, and of finding expedients in the most difficult conjunctures.

Captain Stephen Courtney was a man well born, well educated, and of a liberal fortune. He was a proprietor in the scheme; and took a share in it, that he might the more effectually serve himself and his associates.

Captain Thomas Dover, the third in command, had likewise a stake in the expedition, and engaged in it from similar motives. By profession he was a physician, and, towards the decline of life, made himself conspicuous by a book entitled, "Dover's last Legacy to his Country," in which he recommends the use of crude mercury. In temper he was rough and unconciliating; but his natural disposition, as it alienated affection, so it prevented him from making a party to support him in his ill-humours. He acted as second to Captain Woodes Rogers.

As for Captain Edward Cooke, who was second to Captain Courtney, he had twice been taken prisoner by the French, and now ventured his person and his whole fortune on this expedition.

The pilot in the larger ship was Captain William Dampier, the original projector; and who, for the fourth time, was about to visit the South Seas,

Seas, where his name rendered him formidable to the Spaniards.

The inferior officers were selected with care and judgment; and even some attention was paid to the inlisting of the common men, who were stimulated to deserve well, by a promised recompence of thirty pounds, to such as should have the misfortune to lose a limb in the service.

Such is the general character of the parties concerned in this expedition, of which we are about to give the history. Nor did the care of the proprietors stop here; they formed a code of laws and regulations, for the use of the officers and crews; the principal articles of which were, that they should keep together and act in concert; that they should undertake nothing of consequence, without a deliberation in a council of officers; and above all, that they should mutually assist each other in regard to provisions and stores.

Of this voyage we have two accounts published in a journal form: one by Captain Rogers, the other by Captain Cooke. That of Captain Rogers we mean principally to follow; but, where elucidation is necessary, we shall blend them.

After the requisite preparations, on the 1st of August 1708, the Duke, of three hundred tons, thirty guns, and one hundred and seventy men, Captain Woodes Rogers; and the Duchess, of two hundred and seventy tons, twenty-six guns, and one hundred and fifty-one men, Captain Stephen Courtney, sailed from King Road; both ships being furnished with legal commissions to cruise against the French and Spaniards, and to

act jointly, as belonging to the same proprietors, merchants in Bristol.

Their first destination was the Cove of Cork, where they arrived on the 6th. Here they took in refreshments, changed some of the men, and enlisted others. They had double the number of officers usual in privateers, at once to prevent mutinies, and that they might be provided with a proper succession, in case of mortality.

While they lay here, with a laxity of moral principle, so general among mariners, the crews formed a number of matrimonial connections. Among others, a Dane was joined, by a Romish priest, to an Irishwoman, without their understanding a word of each other's language, so that they could only converse by an interpreter; yet this pair shewed more genuine affection, when they were about to separate, than all the rest; and the man continued melancholy for some time. A misogunist would probably ascribe this affection to the very cause that a common observer might suppose would have been attended with a contrary effect: he would say, it was because the lady could not offend with her tongue, and that silence, in the female sex, is the best preservative of love.

The final complement of men, in both ships, was now three hundred and thirty-three, of which above one-third were foreigners. Having agreed on signals, they set sail again on the 1st of September, in company with the Hastings man of war, with which they continued till the 6th, when her commander generously supplied them with some necessaries, which had hitherto been overlooked, without accepting the least compensation.

The ship's crew were then called on deck, and informed by the captains of their real destination, and the nature of their voyage; in order, that they might exchange, with Captain Paul, any hands that were averse to so long and dangerous a voyage. Only one man was dissatisfied, and he assigned this curious reason, that he was set down for a tithingman that year, and he was apprehensive his wife might be obliged to pay forty shillings for the default. The poor fellow, however, seeing all his companions so alert, soon forgot his difficulty, and agreed to follow their fortunes.

Early in the morning of the 10th, they saw a sail, to which they immediately gave chase, and about three in the afternoon brought her to, after two broadsides. From some words casually dropped by the men, who were in a state of intoxication, she was suspected to have contraband goods on board; but after a general search and examination, finding it would be difficult to prove her a prize, and being unwilling to lose time, by carrying her into port, they dismissed her without the least embezzlement. On this, the master made Captain Rogers a present of some hams and dried beef, and received in return a dozen of red streak cyder. The ship shewed Swedish colours, and belonged to Stadt. On leaving the Duke and Duchefs, she saluted with four guns.

While Captain Rogers was investigating the nature of the capture on board, a design had been privately formed by the boatswain, three inferior officers, and several men of his own ship, to make a prize of the Swede; and upon her being given up, they began to shew symptoms of discontent,

content, and to mutiny. This disorder was soon stopped, by clapping ten of the most forward in irons, displacing the boatswain, and giving a severe whipping to one of the principal fomenters of the disturbance.

A disposition of the same kind appeared on board the *Duchess*; but its turbulence subsided, when the mutinous party on board the consort ship was quelled.

However, though these misguided men were secured from actual mischief, they still continued to inflame their companions, by representing that they suffered in the cause of the crew, who, therefore, ought to rise and rescue them. And to such an height did this commotion rise, that a sailor advanced to Captain Rogers, with the best part of the ship's company at his heels, and demanded the discarded boatswain out of custody. The captain temporized, till having decoyed him into a private conference on the quarterdeck, he ordered him to be seized, and soundly whipped.

Next day, the mutinous boatswain was sent, in irons, on board the *Crown galley*, of *Biddeford*, which had kept them company for some days. The succeeding day the prisoners were liberated, on their humble submission, and most solemn promises of dutiful behaviour for the future. The petty officers, who had been implicated in the charge of mutiny, were restored to their commands; and it was strictly enjoined on the crew, that no one should reproach them for past misconduct, or dare to disobey them. By this liberal and judicious manner of proceeding, peace and quiet were restored; and the whole company became active and obedient, either through gratitude or duty.

Early in the morning of the 18th, they espied a ship right ahead, and in five hours came up with her, and took her. She was a Spaniard, bound from Teneriffe to Fuerteventura, with several passengers of both sexes, and laden with fundry sorts of goods. Next day they bore away for Oratavia Road, and sent a deputation to treat about ransoming the vessel, and to procure wine and other refreshments. Mr. Vanburgh, agent for the owners, on board the Duke, accompanied this party, contrary to the inclination of Captain Rogers.

Soon after, a boat came off from the town, with a letter from the resident English merchants, in which they expostulated with the two captains for making a prize of the bark, alleging that a free trade had been agreed to in those islands, between her majesty Queen Anne and the Kings of France and Spain, which had been so religiously observed by the latter, that they had caused an English ship, captured by a French privateer, to be restored. The merchants farther represented the danger of reprisals, and the account which the captors must render for their conduct at home.

To this epistle the captains immediately returned an answer, in which they stated, that having no instructions relative to the Spanish ships trading among those islands, they could not think of delivering up their prize, without some order or proclamation of her majesty. That in case Mr. Vanburgh, whom the merchants had detained, was not restored, they would carry away all the Spanish prisoners; and if any detriment was apprehended to the English factory, the merchants

chants might obviate it, by ransoming the bark ; and seeking redress at home, if they conceived themselves aggrieved.

Several other letters and explanations passed ; but the merchants finding that the captains were not to be intimidated by threats, or awed by fear of consequences, at last sent off one of their number, accompanied by Mr. Vanburgh, together with five butts of wine, and a quantity of provisions and refreshments.

Matters being now in a train of accommodation, the captains caused the goods to be taken out of the prize, and then sold her to the factory for four hundred and fifty dollars, and delivered up all the prisoners. After this transaction, a committee was held, by whom the whole business was scrutinized, and unanimously approved ; a mode of proceeding which was steadily pursued during the whole voyage, and which was attended with the happiest effects.

On the last day of September they ran by St. Lucia, one of the Cape de Verd Islands ; and in a few hours, came to an anchor in the harbour of St. Vincent. Knowing the island to be uninhabited, they were surprised to see several men on shore ; and to solve this mystery, Captain Cooke proceeded in the pinnace, and found the visitors were Portuguese from St. Anthony, who had been allured to this spot to catch turtle.

The Island of St. Lucia furnishes wood and water, hogs, goats, and abundance of Guinea fowl. The road where the ships lay was well stored with fish. In the woods they observed numerous spiders, whose bodies were as large as walnuts, and their webs as strong as ordinary threads.

threads. These webs being thickly suspended across the paths and avenues, occasioned some difficulty to the passengers.

While they lay here, new disturbances broke out among the crews in relation to plunder; to allay which, for the present, and to prevent a return in future, new articles of agreement were framed, which met with the unanimous approbation of both ships.

During the time that they were engaged in careening the ships, and in laying in wood and water, a linguist was dispatched, with a very respectful letter, to the governor of these islands, requesting his permission to traffic for refreshments, as being subjects of Great Britain, and allies of Portugal. Soon after, the deputy governor, who was a negro, came on board the Duke, with a supply of hogs, fowls, oranges, limes, water melons, musk melons, tobacco, brandy, and other necessaries, for which he received an equivalent in prize goods of small intrinsic value.

The captains, delaying their voyage for some days, on account of the linguist, who had prolonged his stay, at last found themselves obliged to resolve to sail without him. To adopt such a resolution, they found themselves the more inclined, that from this example others might take warning, who being sent on shore, neglected to comply with their instructions, and to return when their business was ended.

The Island of St. Lucia is mountainous and barren, and the air is reckoned but indifferent. This may probably arise from its being overrun with woods. Of numbers, however, who fell sick here, none died; and all were relieved by venesection.

On

On the 8th of October, having put the deputy governor on shore, where he was obliged to take up his night's lodging in a cavern, as there were no habitations, the captains set sail for the coast of Brasil. In this passage, notwithstanding all the precautions which had been used, new disputes arose among the men; and after various consultations, it was resolved, that Mr. Page, who acted as second mate of the *Duchess*, should be removed on board the *Duke*, and another person substituted in his room. Captain Cooke was commissioned to execute this order; but Page, forgetful of his duty to his superior officer, struck the captain; and it was not without force, that he was conveyed on board the *Duke*. Being charged with mutiny, he desired leave to retire, on some private business, for a minute or two, which being granted, he took the opportunity of jumping overboard, in hopes of being able to reach his former ship; but being taken up and punished, an end was again put to this dissension. These petty squabbles have frequently an important and fatal influence on voyages of this nature; and, indeed, without subordination, it is impossible to navigate a ship, much less to fight her to advantage. It is, therefore, the duty of commanders to be vigilant in enforcing discipline, and in checking the first appearance of mutiny and tumult.

The praise of vigilant attention seems justly to belong to the principals in this expedition; and happy was it for their employers and crews, that the energy displayed, was always equal to the emergency that gave rise to it.

It was the 18th of November when they reached the coast of Brasil, and anchored before the

the Isle of Grande. Here new quarrels arose, and matters had certainly been carried to a dangerous pitch on board the *Duchefs*, had not Captain Courtney immediately clapped eight of the rioters in irons. This intimidated the rest; and, in all probability, prevented an attempt to run away with the ship.

The ill humours of the crew, however, were not quite done away. In a few days, some of the men endeavoured to escape and secrete themselves in the woods. Two of them belonging to the *Duchefs* being alarmed, during the night, with the cries of monkeys and baboons, which they took for tigers, were so frightened into duty, that they plunged into the water, and halloed to be fetched on board; when they expressed contrition for their elopement, and were ridiculed for their fears.

Early next morning, a canoe was discovered, and hailed to come on board; but her crew endeavouring to escape, made the English suspicious of their designs; and accordingly, the pinnace and yawl were dispatched in pursuit of her. Before the canoe could be brought to, it was found necessary to fire into her, by which an Indian was wounded. The owner and steersman proved to be a friar, who had in his possession a quantity of gold, which Captain Rogers supposed he had obtained in the lucrative trade of confession and absolution. The wounded Indian was attended by the surgeon; but he died in two hours. The friar was conducted on board the *Duke*; but though he was hospitably entertained, he expressed great chagrin at the loss of his gold and the death of his slave, and threatened to seek redress either in Portugal or England. Next day, two

of the English, who had deserted, were taken, and put in irons, and the next day the ships left this place.

The Island of Grande is an elevated spot, rising into a point in the middle. In the vicinity are several other small islands, or rather rocks, of a circular form, that make a very picturesque appearance. The cove where Captain Rogers watered afforded good shelter; and the soundings in the environs were generally ten fathoms deep. The circumference of Grande is about nine leagues, and its whole extent is woody. Monkeys and other wild beasts abound here; nor is there any deficiency in salutary fruits, such as oranges, lemons, and guavas. Beef and mutton were found to be cheap enough, but in no great abundance; hogs were still more scarce. Cassada is the only kind of bread known here.

The weather was delightfully fine during the time that the ships remained here; but the heat of an almost perpendicular sun was intense, and nearly insupportable. Captain Rogers consulted Nieuhoff's Description of Brasil, and found it verified by his own observations.

Continuing their voyage to the southward, they gradually advanced into cold latitudes; and the transition had a very perceptible effect on the health of the crews. This induced Rogers to bear away for the Island of Juan Fernandez, which they could not find without some difficulty, from the contradictory manner in which it had been laid down in the different charts. Even Dampier himself, who carried a map of the island in his head, that was found to correspond with the appearance of the country in a wonderful degree, was at a loss how to steer; and Cap-
tain

tain Rogers was, at last, obliged to make the mainland of Chili, in order to strike a more certain course to Juan Fernandez.

On the 5th of January 1709, they encountered a violent storm, in which the *Duchess* was nearly lost. As the crew were going to supper on the evening of that day, she shipped a sea at the poop, which beat in all the cabin windows and bulk head, and hove the first lieutenant half way between the decks, with several muskets and pistols which hung there, darting a sword, suspended from the bulk head of the cabin, through a hammock and rug near the steerage; and had not the bulk head given way, all who were in the cabin must have inevitably been drowned. The yawl was staved to pieces on deck; and when the violence and effect of this shock are considered, it is surprising that many were not killed. However, they all escaped with their lives, and only one or two were wounded; but there was not a dry rag of clothes left in the ship; the chests, hammocks, and bedding being all soaked in water.

On the 15th they stood to the northward, and found smooth water in the South Seas. Two days after they made an accurate observation, which convinced them they had doubled Cape Horn, and were to the northward of Cape Victoria. The men now began to fall thick with the scurvy; when, to their great joy, they came before Juan Fernandez on the 1st of February.

Immediately Captain Dover went off in the pinnace in search of provisions, and to find a convenient place for anchorage; but as night soon began to set in, and darkness to increase, the crews were a good deal alarmed for the safety of

their companions, by the appearance of a fire on shore, which made them conclude there were ships in the road. These ships it was conjectured were French; and thence they drew the natural conclusion, that they must either be obliged to fight them, or remain in want of water or refreshments on shore, so very desirable, and so very necessary.

While under these disagreeable impressions, they stood to the westward, in order to fall in with the southerly winds, and having passed the island, they returned again on a different tack; and instead of discovering an enemy, had the satisfaction to find the coast clear in every direction.

Captain Dover and his party having been previously taken up at sea, he was again sent off in the yawl, with Mr. Fry and six men well armed. Meanwhile the Duke and Duchefs kept plying to get in; but such heavy squalls blew from the land, as forced them to use all the arts of seamanship, to prevent them from being driven off the coast.

The yawl not returning so soon as was expected, Captain Rogers dispatched the pinnace, well armed, to learn the occasion of her stay, as he began to be apprehensive that the Spaniards might have garrisoned the island, and seized his men. He, therefore, ordered a signal to be put out for the boat, and the Duchefs to shew a French ensign.

In a short time, however, the pinnace returned with a liberal supply of crawfish, and a man clothed in goat's skins, whose looks were as wild as his attire was uncouth. This person, who will ever be distinguished in historical romance, had been four years and four months on the island

island, being left there by Captain Stradling, who commanded the ship called the Cinque Ports, of which the stranger had been master. His name was Alexander Selkirk, and having formerly sailed with Dampier, he was recommended by that gentleman as a most excellent mariner; and in consequence, was immediately put into the place of mate on board the Duke. It was this man who had made a fire the preceding evening, having rightly conjectured that the ships were English. During his long stay on this uninhabited spot, he had observed several ships pass by; but only two came to an anchor, and these belonged to the Spaniards, from whom he with difficulty escaped. To any other nation he would gladly have submitted, that he might once more have regained human society; but he preferred death, or eternal solitude, to the danger of falling into the hands of the Spaniards, from whom he expected instant destruction, or prolonged misery in the mines; well knowing their mortal aversion to any foreigner, who was so well acquainted with the South Seas. The Spaniards, it seems, had landed before he could recognise their country, and approached so near as to shoot at him. With infinite difficulty he tried to escape their aim and their pursuit. Providentially, however, he was able to climb up a tree unseen by his enemies; and though some of them made water at the foot of it, and killed several goats close by, they retired without discovering his retreat.

Selkirk, happy in his deliverance, gave an unvarnished account of himself. He said that he was born at Largo, in the county of Fife, in Scotland, and was bred a sailor from his boyish years. He had

been connected with the buccaneers, and had gone through many of the dangers of that resolute body of men. In consequence, however, of a difference between him and his captain, and the vessel in which he sailed being leaky, he at first was inclined to remain here; and afterwards, when the idea of solitude pressed so strongly on his mind as to overcome personal animosity and private danger, and he was desirous of being taken on board, his captain refused to admit him. He had been at the island before to wood and water, when two of the ship's company were left on it for six months, till the ship, which had been chased from thence by two French South Sea ships, returned, and took them on board.

When abandoned to his fate, he had with him his clothes and bedding, besides a firelock, some powder, bullets, and tobacco, a hatchet, a knife, a kettle, a bible, some practical discourses, and a few mathematical books and instruments. With this slender stock of accommodations, he sought provision and amusement in the best manner he could; but, for the first eight months, it required all his fortitude to bear up against the melancholy idea of being cut off from human society, and left in such a desolate place.

At length learning to become reconciled to his destiny, he set about building two huts of pimento wood, which he covered with long grass, and lined with the skins of goats. These animals he shot with abundant ease while his powder lasted, which, however, was no more than a pound, and therefore soon exhausted.

He procured fire by the violent friction of two pieces of pimento wood together, on his knee;
and

and as there was plenty of fuel, he had thus one essential comfort always in his own power. The lesser hut, which was built at some distance from the other, was used as his kitchen : in the large one he slept, and employed himself in reading and religious exercises ; so that as he himself observed, he was a better Christian in his solitude than he ever was before, and feared should ever be again.

At first he never eat any thing till pressed by the calls of hunger, which partly arose from his dejection of mind, and partly from his want of bread and salt ; nor did he retire to rest, till he was able to watch no longer. The pimento wood, which burns very clear, not only supplied the place of fire and candle, but exhilarated his spirits with its fragrant odour.

Fish might have been procured in great plenty ; but as he had no salt to cure them, or to eat with them, and found them too relaxing, he abstained from their use. However, he indulged himself in crawfish, nearly as large as our lobsters, which he found very good and salutary. These he sometimes boiled, and at others broiled, as he did his goat's flesh, of which he made a very nutritive broth. The flesh of these animals is not so rank as with us. He kept an account of five hundred which he had killed during his residence here, and of his having caught above as many more, which he marked on the ear, and then gave them their liberty.

When Selkirk's ammunition failed, he caught the goats by swiftness of foot ; for being cleared of all gross humours by the continual exercise of walking and running, and living almost in a state of nature ; he ran with such fleetness through the woods, and up the hills and rocks, that the swiftest

swiftest goat in the island was scarcely a match for him. This was verified by the persons on board the Duke and Duchefs, who, while they stayed at this place, employed him to catch goats; and having a bull dog sent him from one of the ships, with several of the nimblest of the crew to assist him, he distanced and tired both the dog and men, caught the goats by dint of superior swiftness, and brought them off on his back.

He told them an anecdote of himself, that his agility in pursuing a goat had once well nigh cost him his life; for being eagerly engaged in the pursuit, he caught his prey just on the verge of a precipice, of which he was not aware, and tumbled down, together with it, a prodigious height. He was so stunned and bruised with the fall, that he lay nearly twenty-four hours in a state of insensibility; and on recovering his recollection, he found the goat dead under him. He was so much hurt by this accident, that he found great difficulty in crawling to his hut, which was about a mile's distance; nor was he able to stir abroad again for ten days. By degrees he came to relish meat sufficiently, without the addition of bread or salt: perhaps the last is an unnatural and injurious condiment; and less quantities of the former certainly might suffice, where there is no restraint in animal food. Some of Dampier's men had sown a few turnips on this island, which had now overspread several acres, and yielded a grateful vegetable to the solitary lord of the spot. From the cabbage trees, he derived another useful aliment; and as he had plenty of pimento, or Jamaica pepper, he was at no loss for a seasoning to his viands. Here also he found a species of black pepper, called mala-geta,

geta, which proved an excellent carminative, and a remedy in bowel complaints.

Selkirk soon wore out his shoes and clothes by running, and penetrating the tangled woods. When his original dress was gone, he furnished himself with a coat and cap of goat's skins, which he sewed with thongs of the same material. Instead of a needle, he made use of a pointed nail; and when his knife, with which he cut these thongs, was worn to the back, he fabricated others out of iron hoops that were left ashore, by beating them straight, and grinding them on stones to something like an edge.

The necessity of his circumstances put him upon several curious devices. Having some linen by him, he contrived, by the assistance of a nail and the worsted of his old stockings, to make it up into shirts. When thus providentially discovered, he had his last shirt on.

Being obliged to go barefoot, his feet had acquired a degree of callosity, which rendered the use of shoes and stockings not only useless but irksome, at first. Indeed, it was some time before he could submit to wear them, as his feet swelled on his attempt to conform himself to original usages.

During his long sequestration in the Island of Juan Fernandez, he hit on various expedients to relieve the tediousness of time. After having overcome the first impressions of melancholy, he used to amuse himself with cutting his name on the trees, and the date and continuance of his solitude. At first he was much pestered with rats, which having been conveyed hither by some European ships, had got on shore, and increased prodigiously. These sometimes gnawed his feet
and

and clothes while he slept, which induced him to make friends with the cats, by feeding them liberally with goat's flesh. By degrees they grew so tame, that he has been surrounded by hundreds at once; and by such powerful auxiliaries, he was soon freed from the depredations of the rats. He also found means to domesticate several kids; and to divert his languor, would now and then dance and sing with them and his cats; so that by the favour of Providence, and the vigour of youth, being now only thirty years old, he at last vanquished all the inconveniences of solitude, and grew reconciled to his situation.

When he was first taken on board Captain Rogers's ship, he had so much forgot his native language, from long disuse, that he could scarcely make himself intelligible. A dram being offered him, he declined it with evident aversion; for being habituated to water, he could not endure any thing of a spirituous nature; and, indeed, it was sometime before he could relish the ordinary provisions of the ship.

With regard to the productions of the island, he could make but a small addition to what had been known before by Europeans. He said there was a kind of black plums, of excellent flavour, but difficult to be procured, as they were only to be found on rocks and high mountains. Pimento trees, he observed, were very numerous, and of great magnitude; and cotton trees were still of greater height and dimensions.

The climate is so propitious, that the trees and grass preserve a perpetual verdure. The winter lasts no longer than June and July, and is not then severe. There is but little frost and snow;

snow; but the rains are sometimes excessively heavy. The heat of the summer is moderate; and there is not much thunder or tempestuous weather of any sort.

Selkirk saw no venomous or savage creature on his domain; nor any large quadruped, save goats, the breed of which had been set on shore here by Juan Fernandez, a Spaniard, who, with a few families, attempted to colonize the island; but afterwards removed to Chili, a situation more lucrative and eligible. The goats, however, having got possession of the remote and almost inaccessible spots of the island, could not be dislodged; and to this day furnish supplies for vessels that occasionally visit the place.

Only a few of Selkirk's countrymen had the curiosity to visit his retreat; the way to it was so rugged and intricate, that persons, unused to such scenes, could with difficulty proceed. All, however, acknowledged his utility in facilitating the business of wooding and watering, and laying in provisions, which his acquaintance with the spot rendered easy to him. He likewise was instrumental in recovering the sick, by directing to a plant, resembling feverfew, of a most grateful and cordial scent, with which the tents of the ailing were strewed, to their sensible comfort and advantage. Several bundles of this plant, being collected and dried in the shade, were carried on board, to be used as occasion might require.

It should here be remarked, what indeed few are ignorant of, that when Selkirk came to England, he was advised to put his papers into the hands of the celebrated Daniel Defoe, to arrange for publication; but that ingenious literary pirate,

rate, converting the original materials, by the aid of a luxuriant fancy, into the well known romance of Robinson Crusoe, defrauded Selkirk of the emolument, which it was reasonable to suppose he might have reaped, from an unaffected narrative of his solitary occupations and thoughts.

But he has gained a distinguished niche in the temple of Fame; and while the English language lasts, the Romance to which he gave birth, and which will serve to recal his name, must delight and improve every person susceptible of generous impressions.

To return to the history of the voyage. On the 3d of February the smith's forge was erected on shore, and the carpenters set to work. Captain Rogers had a small tent raised for himself, and the Duchefs had a large one for the accommodation of the sick. Some of those on board were employed in supplying the rest with various kinds of fish, of which the coast furnished a luxuriant store. There were also many marine fowls, of considerable size, in the bay; but they had a fishy taste. Mr. Selkirk, who was now complimented with the title of governor, never failed to procure two or three goats a day, for the relief of the sick; by the help of which, together with a liberal supply of vegetables, and the natural salubrity of the air, the whole crew was soon in a convalescent state.

They employed about a week in refitting the ships, and in laying in necessaries. During this period too, they boiled up about eighty gallons of sea-lions oil, of which they might have procured several tuns, had they been provided with vessels. This oil being refined for the lamps,
supplied

supplied the place of candles : and was sometimes used by the sailors instead of butter ; and proved not unpleasant.

Seals were extremely numerous, and were preferred by the ships companies to their customary provisions. Indeed some esteemed the flesh of this animal equal to English lamb.

As they had received intelligence at the Canaries, that five stout French ships were about to sail into these seas, the English made all possible expedition to convey their necessaries on board ; and on the 13th of February, a consultation was held, in which several regulations were made for preserving secrecy, discipline, and honesty, on board both vessels ; and next day they weighed, with an intention of steering for the Island of Lobos de la Mar ; having lost no more than two men on the Island of Juan Fernandez.

On the 17th, two men were exchanged between the Duke and Duchess, to see that reciprocal justice was done ; and to prevent any jealousy that might arise between the crews. Same day they made land, which they supposed was the Isle of Pajaros ; and on the 24th they crossed the tropic of capricorn. Here they saw several tropic birds, among which were boobies. These birds are about the size of a magpie : they are high fliers, and subsist chiefly on fish.

A few days after, the pinnaces were hoisted into the water, to try them under sail, with a small gun fixed in each. It was intended to use them as small privateers, and it was found they performed to expectation.

On the 3d of March, the weather was extremely hot. This day they saw several trees and pieces of wood floating in the water, with

many weeds, on which abundance of sea-larks were perched. Captain Cooke shot some of them, as also a seal, which immediately sunk. With the fuzig, they struck a very large sun-fish; but it escaped at last from their pursuit. Here they saw several flying fish, which darted sometimes as far as a gun shot before they dropped in the water. They seemed to be much persecuted by their enemies the dolphins, which, swimming with great velocity, frequently catch them, when exhausted, on the surface of the sea.

The nights soon became very cold, considering the latitude; nor were the days so hot as might have been expected in a climate where it never rains. The nocturnal dews, however, compensate this deficiency, though the air is generally serene.

On the 15th they took a small vessel bound from Guiaquil to Cheripe, to load for flour: she had been out sixteen days. The master and crew were Indians, and she had only one Spanish passenger on board. She contained nothing of any value save about fifty pounds in money. On enquiring after news, they were informed, that all the French ships had departed for Europe some months before; and that for strong reasons they were to be allowed to trade there no more. It was added, that the Spaniards had contracted such an aversion to the French, that they had killed many of them at Callao; and animosities ran so high, between the two nations, that, for some time before the natives of France left the coast, it was found expedient to debar them from the privilege of going on shore.

The prisoners also assured the English, that no enemies had been in those seas since the departure

ure of Captain Dampier, about four years before ; and that Captain Stradling's ship, the Cinque Ports, who was Dampier's consort, foundered on the coast of Barbacom, where only he and about six or seven of his men were saved. These being taken captives, were sent to Lima, where they had been detained ever since ; so that Selkirk, compared to them, might have thought himself happy in his solitude at Juan Fernandez.

Having manned the prize with English sailors, they proceeded for Lobos ; and had it not been for the information received from the crew of the captured vessel, the ships probably would have been endangered by attempting to run over the shoals that lie between the island and the main.

On the 17th, however, they came to an anchor, between the two Islands of Lobos de la Mar ; and next day, prepared to fit out the prize as a cruiser, under the command of Mr. Stratton, giving her the appropriate appellation of, the Beginning. By the 20th she was stored with provisions, and manned with thirty-two men ; after which, she put to sea, together with the Ducheſs. In a few days the Ducheſs brought in another prize, of fifty tons burden, with a cargo of timber, some cocoa nuts, and tobacco, which last was distributed equally among the crews.

This new prize was called the Increase ; and being cleaned and refitted, the sick were transported on board her, under the care of the surgeon and Mr. Selkirk, who acted as master.

The Islands of Lobos de la Mar, where they lay, are so called, to distinguish them from Lobos de la Tarra. They are about six miles long, and forty eight from the continent ; and afford nei-

ther wood, water, or vegetables. The soil is a sterile white clay, mixed with sand and rocks, and several veins of slate. Ships, however, find safe anchorage here, in about twenty fathoms water.

Carrion crows almost cover the spot, which Captain Cooke, at landing, taking for turkeys, felicitated himself at the sight, and hoped to fare deliciously. So eager was he to enjoy this fancied favourite food, that he leaped into the water with his gun, before the boat could land him; and getting near to two of them, that were sitting on a rock, brought them down at once. But judge his disappointment, and the ridicule to which he was exposed, when, coming up to seize his game, he found it stunk insufferably; and that the feast he had promised himself had furnished only a jest against him.

In these islands are likewise penguins, pelicans, and boobies, and a sort of duck, that burrows in the ground*. The ships crew procured immense quantities of these last, and praised them as being delicious food. They found abundance of bulrushes and empty jars, which had been left by the Spanish fishermen; for all over this coast, jars are used instead of casks, as the receptacles of oil, wine, and other fluids.

The Isles of Lobos also afforded some sea-lions, and abundance of seals, much larger than those at Juan Fernandez; but less valuable for their furs. Several of these were killed for the sake of their livers; but a Spaniard, who was on board, dying suddenly after this kind of repast, the officers interdicted the use of this supposed delicacy

* Is this the *anas tadorna* of Linnæus?

in future. Indeed the prisoners accounted all seal flesh, particularly if old, very unfriendly to the human constitution.

The wind, which always blew fresh over land, brought a very noisome and offensive smell from the seals on shore, which gave several persons a violent headach; though they had never perceived the same effluvia nor effects from the seals on the shores of Juan Fernandez.

The captains were informed by their prisoners, that it was believed, the widow of the late viceroy of Peru would shortly embark, for Acapulco, with her family and riches; and stop at Paita to refresh, or sail within sight of it. She was to be conveyed by a king's ship of thirty-six guns. They farther said, that about eight months before, a ship, with two hundred thousand pieces of eight, and a dignitary of the church, with much plate on board, besides a cargoe of flour and liquors, had passed by Paita for Acapulco. They also added, that one Signior Morel was left at Paita, in a stout ship, laden with dry goods; that he was bound for Lima; and that a ship, richly laden, was expected in a few days, from Panama. On receiving this interesting intelligence, the English resolved to spend as much time as possible in the vicinity of Paita, but to remain as much as they could in secrecy.

While they lay here, they observed a phenomenon, which superstition has often converted into an engine of terror. The sea assumed the colour of blood; and this, upon investigation, they ascribed to the real cause, the quantity of spawn which swam on its surface.

On the 2d of April, they took a prize, which proved to be the ship afore mentioned, command-

ed by Signior Morel, and his brother, of about three hundred tons burden. She was deeply laden with dry goods; and, exclusive of her cargo, had fifty negroes on board, and many passengers from Panama to Lima, with an ample stock of fresh provisions. The command of this vessel was given to Mr. Fry, the captor.

The subsequent day, the Beginning took a prize of about fifty tons, laden with timber, besides some money and plate. By this vessel, information was received, that the ecclesiastic, already mentioned, was coming by sea from Panama to Lima; on which news the cruisers were stationed in such a manner as seemed most likely to intercept the expected sail.

About this period some disputes broke out among the superiors in the expedition, and Mr. Vanburgh was removed from the council. This disagreement was the more to be lamented, as several plans of importance were in agitation. In particular, a resolution had been taken to attempt the town of Guiaquil; in order to which, it was determined to send the Duke and the Beginning to Paita, each for a separate purpose.

Several consultations were afterwards held, and circumstances being duly weighed, the conquest of Guiaquil was finally resolved on; and instructions drawn up to regulate the conduct of the commanders in the enterprise.

On the 12th of April, it was settled in another committee, that it would be dangerous to send the Beginning into Paita, as had been originally intended, for fear of a discovery: but the resolution of attacking Guiaquil was still adhered to. This enterprise was to be conducted by Captains Rogers, Courtney, and Dover; the first to command

mand seventy one officers and sailors: the second to head seventy three men; and the third to have seventy marines under his direction. Dampier was to command the artillery, with a reserve of twenty-two men; Captain Cooke was to command the *Duchess* with forty-two men; and Captain Fry the *Duke* with forty men. The blacks, Indians, and prisoners, amounted to about two hundred more.

On the 13th they approached Cape Blanco; when a committee being summoned, it was agreed, for the encouragement of the officers and men, that all gold rings, buttons, and buckles, bedding, wearing apparel, and all sorts of arms, except great guns, should be allowed as plunder, to be equally divided among the men, on board or on shore, according to their respective quotas; and that all wrought gold or silver, crucifixes, and watches, found among the prisoners, should also be deemed plunder: except coined money, ear-rings, loose diamonds, pearls, and precious stones; and that none should privately retain any spoils, but bring them to the public depot, where a register was to be kept, for the satisfaction of all concerned. It was farther declared, that whoever should commit any disorder on shore, disobey command, quit their post, or behave with cowardice, should be severely punished; besides being mulcted to the full amount of what they might expect from the plunder.

Early on the morning of the 15th, they saw a sail near the shore; and having little wind, the *Duke's* boat, commanded by Captain Fry, and the *Duchess's* by Captain Cooke, rowed off, to meet her, in such haste, that neither had taken
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in her full complement of men nor guns. In fact, they had only ten muskets, four pistols, and a small quantity of ammunition on board, and not a drop of water. The event of such a precipitate undertaking may easily be conjectured. They rowed very hard for six leagues, to come up with her; and on the Duke's boat nearing her, she put out Spanish colours, and fired a gun. The Duke's boat then lay by for her consort to come up. Soon after, the dispute became hot, and continued so for a long space; the boats keeping up a constant fire, and the enemy answering it with vigour. In this unequal contest, Captain Rogers's brother and another person were killed, and three wounded in both boats.

At length the Duke's boat, finding the attempt too arduous, bore away, and was soon followed by the other; but Captain Fry, putting some of his men on board the Duchess's boat, with a supply of powder and shot, Captain Cooke was animated with new resolution, and attacked the enemy again; and at last, the ships coming up, she was compelled to strike. The men begged for good quarter; and were promised all customary indulgencies. This was the ship which had been so long expected. She was French built, and was intended for a man of war. She had seventy blacks and many passengers on board, with a considerable quantity of pearls. The chief lading was bale goods. The dignitary had been set on shore, at Point St. Helena, with the principal part of his treasure.

This ship was capable of carrying twenty-four guns, but had no more than six mounted. Among the passengers were some opulent merchants of Lima. Captain Cooke took possession
of

of this prize, distributing the prisoners among the other ships.

Every thing being prepared, on the 17th, the party appointed to make a descent on Guiaquil, went on board the two barks; when Captain Cooke was sent for on board the *Duchess*, and Captain Fry to the *Duke*, to take care of the ships, prizes, and prisoners, which were to keep at a convenient distance from the barks, to prevent their being discovered by the enemy. After this, Captain Rogers and Captain Courtney, with the barks under their command, came to an anchor off Punta Arena; then taking to their boats, with forty men, they made for Puna, a swampy island covered with mangroves; and took their station next morning close under the land, that they might not be seen from the town.

The ship, coming up towards evening, the boats weighed, and came again to a grappling, within half a mile of the scene of action; and lay in such a manner, as to resemble drift timber on the water. On this occasion a dispute arose among the officers about their future operations, and words ran so high, as to reach the Spaniards on shore; but fortunately they did not understand the language they heard, and were too much intimidated to spread an effectual alarm.

About four next morning, the boats came close up with Puna, where they secured all the canoes and log boats, and seized the governor of the town with about twenty of the inhabitants, from whom they had the pleasure to learn, that no alarm had been communicated to Guiaquil; those who had fled from Puna, thinking only of their own security by flying to the woods.

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In this place, however, they found a paper, a copy of which had been distributed all along the coast, conveying the intelligence that Dampier was again in those seas. This stimulated the English to hasten their designs before assistance should arrive from Lima; which, indeed, they did not apprehend was possible in the short time that was required for the completion of their plan.

April 21st, the *Beginning* was sent ahead towards Punta Arena, where she found an empty vessel riding close under the point. She was sent to take in a lading of salt; but the crew seeing the English approach, thought proper to abandon her to their mercy.

The apprehensions of detection being now entirely removed, the barks and boats rowed for the town of Guiaquil; and at eleven at night saw a light, which determined them to proceed with silent caution. When they were within a mile of the town, they heard one sentinel call to another, talk some time, and order something respecting fire.

Perceiving that they were discovered, they rowed over to the other side; and soon saw many lights all over the town, and by the water side. They heard the alarm bell ring, several volleys fired, and a beacon lighted up, to announce the approach of an enemy.

On this a council was held in one of the boats, to resolve whether they should land immediately, or wait the return of day. The officers differing in their opinions, it was ultimately agreed, that, since they did not know the ground, and the barks and artillery were not come up, it would be advisable to wait till light. Meanwhile,

while, they fell down the river a little way, to join the rest of the armament, and were saluted with some random shot, which at first they thought proceeded from the Spaniards ranged on the shore.

At day break, they discovered one of the barks at anchor, close under the shore; and the other coming up with the flood, the forces all joined. A council being held in the pinnace, they now proceeded up the river, and sent a flag of truce, accompanied by the captain of the last prize, and the governor of Puna, to the corregidor, or mayor of the town.

When the deputation waited on this officer, he asked the number and force of the English, which they took care to magnify. The corregidor observed, that they were boys and not men; but the captain of the prize, informing him that he would find they were men, as they had fought him bravely in their open boats, though he had killed one of the commander's brothers, and wounded several others, advised him to agree to ransom the town; adding, that though he could command a force of three thousand men, it would be ineffectual to save him. The corregidor coolly replied to this vaunt, "my horse is ready."

On the 23d, the barks being towed close up before the town, the pinnace went in pursuit of some vessels, and brought six of them to an anchor close by the barks. They also took possession of two new ships, of about four hundred tons each. After this, another flag of truce was dispatched to the town; and in a short time the governor came on board one of the prizes, to treat about the ransom of the town and shipping,
and

and to purchase the negroes and goods: For the latter he offered one hundred and forty pieces of eight per bale.

Having opened the negotiation, he desired to return, in order to prevail on the principal inhabitants to accede to the ransom; promising to return by seven in the evening; but he failed in his appointment. Meanwhile the boats proceeded up the river, in quest of more ships, but they could not find any. However, they captured some canoes with a small quantity of plate on board.

Towards midnight, the sentinel hailed a boat which brought a messenger from the corregidor, and a present, consisting of two bags of flour, two sheep, and two hogs already killed; two jars of wine, and two of brandy; assuring the English, that the corregidor would have been punctual to his appointment, had not one of the principal merchants been absent; but that he would certainly be with them by seven in the morning; and begged they would consider him as a man of honour. The commanders returned their compliments to the municipal officer, and their thanks for his present; and desired that he might be informed that they hoped he would convince them of his honourable conduct, by meeting them at the appointed time; otherwise the treaty would be at an end.

About seven in the morning, a flag of truce was discovered flying on board one of the new ships; when manning the pinnace, the captains sent their linguist with a promise, that if the corregidor would come on board the prize, he should have a safe conduct. On this he ventured with three persons in his train. The two
barks

barks were then ordered close under the shore, next the principal buildings in the town, and every preparation was made for landing, in case the treaty should be broken off.

The captains began by demanding fifty thousand pieces of eight, as the ransom for the town and shipping; besides which, the governor should be obliged to buy off the negroes and goods which had been captured, at certain stipulated prices, within the space of nine days. To the latter proposal, the Spaniards readily acceded, and offered to leave two hostages for the fulfilment of the conditions: but refused to give the sum demanded for the town and ships, alleging, that they had a sufficient force to protect them.

The commanders perceiving that the corregidor was anxious to gain time by protracting the negotiation, peremptorily told him, that if their demands were not complied with immediately, they would set the town and ships in a blaze before night.

At last the corregidor and his attendants agreed to buy the cargoes, and to give hostages for the payment of forty thousand pieces of eight, for the safety of the town and shipping; but being averse to sign this agreement till it should be confirmed by the principal persons on shore, and an Indian coming off to inform the corregidor, that his men were ready to begin the attack, in case he had not been able to come to an agreement, it was proposed to seize him, for this supposed duplicity of conduct. But claiming the privilege of the flag of truce, and the promise that was made him of a safe return, he was permitted to depart; and an hour's time given him to determine in this important crisis.

Several attempts being made in vain to effectuate a treaty, the English towed nearer the shore, with the union jack at their top-mast heads. At four in the afternoon they landed, and firing on their knees, at the brink of the sand, again loaded, and advanced with an impetuosity, that put the Spaniards to flight, after they had discharged one volley. The English, pressing forward, pursued them with amazing intrepidity; and on gaining the streets, saw four guns ready to open on them, before a spacious church. No sooner, however, did they come in sight of this battery, than the Spanish horse retired in precipitation. Captain Rogers, animating his men to seize the guns, advanced, at the head of a small party, within pistol shot, and so intimidated the enemy by the resolution he displayed, that after one general discharge, they all fled, except an Irish gunner, who remained at his post till covered with wounds, of which he afterwards died.

A strong body of the assailants now coming up under the command of Captains Courtney and Dover, the commander in chief was enabled to secure the post he had so bravely gained; and took possession of the church, where he found about a dozen prisoners.

It is worthy remark that, from the time of landing till the seizing of the guns and taking possession of the church, not more than half an hour elapsed. Such rapid movements were enough to strike a panic into a braver foe. The guns were now turned against the Spaniards; and Dampier took charge of them with a body of twenty-five men. In a short time, the town was evacuated; however, it was thought prudent to fire a few houses fronting the church; because

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in this quarter there was a hill and thick woods, under cover of which the Spaniards might annoy the guard. And indeed they kept up an irregular and ineffectual fire all night at the sentinels; and several parties of horse and foot made their appearance, but dared not make any attempts. The houses continued burning all night and part of the next day. Still, however, it was not the wish of the English to make a general conflagration.

While these things were transacting in the town, the Duchess's pinnace with twenty-two men, commanded by Lieutenant Connelly, proceeding up the river, landed at every house, and secured all the plate and valuables they could find. They had some skirmishes with the enemy, who avoided coming to any decisive action.

The houses on the banks of the river, this party found crowded with women. In one, above a dozen well dressed young ladies were assembled, from whom they took several gold chains and ear-rings; but behaved with such decent propriety, that these females offered to dress provisions for them, and brought them a cask of excellent liquor. These, ladies, however, had contrived to secrete some of their most valuable chains, by fastening them round their waists, legs, and thighs, which being perceived, the linguist was desired to inform them that it was expected they would part with these ornaments, but that no indecent violence would be used.

On the return of Connelly's party down the river, they called at the same house again, where the ladies expressed no uneasiness or surprise, but supplied them with provisions. In their progress they had taken a large empty bark,

which they abandoned. This excursion neated about one thousand pound in gold chains, earrings, and plate; and had two boats been engaged in it, they might have doubled that sum; for while they were plundering the houses on one side of the river, they observed those on the opposite shore, carrying off their most valuable substance, which it was not in their power to prevent. They also informed Captain Rogers, that in their course they had observed a considerable number of horse and foot well armed; from which they conjectured that the enemy, under pretence of negotiating, were only endeavouring to gain time till they could overpower them with numbers. On this it was agreed that, to prevent surprise, the English were to assemble in a body on every alarm.

On the 24th Captain Dover kept guard all day, and the English colours streamed on the towers of the church; while Captains Rogers and Courtney were employed in conveying the most useful articles to the waterfide. Same day the Governor of Puna, with another prisoner, was dispatched with new offers for ransoming the town; but returned in the evening with an ambiguous answer.

Next day they were informed that the enemy were descending the hill, on which the alarm was given, and part of the men being left with the guns, Captains Rogers and Courtney joining their forces, which did not exceed seventy men, advanced to the attack; on which the Spaniards again retired within the woods. The two captains, however, disagreeing about the propriety of keeping possession of that quarter of the town, marched back, carrying with them some of the
most

most valuable effects, which were deposited in the barks.

The following day, a deputation arrived from the corregidor, with an offer of thirty thousand pieces of eight, as a ransom for the town and shipping, to be paid in twelve days. This delay the captains could not accede to, particularly as they were apprized that the enemy had dispatched an express to Lima, to expedite the expected succours. The Spaniards still shewed themselves thick in the woods, and sometimes ventured out, to commence an attack; but always retired after a single discharge. Meanwhile provisions and valuables continued to be shipped off from the town; and every precaution was taken to strengthen the guard, where the cannon were mounted. At night, a strong party occupied the church, round which sentinels were placed at small distances, to be ready to communicate with the main body, on the least appearance of danger. In consequence of the strict orders which had been issued, to fire at every person who did not answer on being challenged, a French sentinel, who had been improvidently employed, shot one of the sailors dead, because being hailed in a language he did not understand, the poor fellow knew not how to make a reply.

Provisions and plunder still continued to be conveyed on board the ships, with unremitting activity; nevertheless, one more effort was made to procure a ransom for the town; and accordingly the most positive assurance was given to the Spaniards, on the morning of the 26th, that unless sufficient hostages were given for the payment of thirty thousand pieces of eight within

six days, the town should be set on fire by three in the afternoon.

Only one hour before the expiration of the limited time, messengers arrived from the Spanish camp, to signify that the proposal was accepted, and that the Governor of Puna and another old gentleman of respectability were to remain as hostages for the performance of it; or if these two were not sufficient, the two gentlemen who brought this notice might be added to them. The captains generously refused to detain the two deputies, and they were sent back to get the agreement signed.

The Governor of Puna and the other hostage lay that night at the English quarters; and next morning were put on board one of the ships, while the English drew off from Guiaquil with drums beating, colours flying, and other demonstrations of triumph. Immediately the Spaniards returned and occupied their former habitations. In retiring from the town, Captain Rogers, with a small party brought up the rear, and he had an opportunity of being convinced how weary the men were of a military life; for many of them threw away their arms, through mere laziness, and left them to be picked up by the rear.

One curious incident it may be entertaining to mention. As Captain Rogers was marching out of town, he happened to miss one John Gabriel, a Dutchman; but taking it for granted that he was either killed or made prisoner, thought it unavailing to delay the march on his account. The phlegmatic Dutchman, however, had taken up his quarters at a house where he found some
excellent

excellent brandy; and by often tasting of this potent beverage, he was at last laid completely on the floor; and in this condition of drunken stupefaction he remained, when the English quitted the town. Soon after, the master of the house returned, and finding a man stretched at his full length in such a condition, that it was difficult to determine whether he was dead or alive, resolved to make the experiment; but first called in some neighbours, who advised him, as a preliminary step, to remove the Dutchman's arms. This being done without disturbing their inebriated possessor, they next raised him up, to try if he could stand. The motion recalled the dormant powers of life; he tottered, began to open his eyes and stare about him, and seemed to think himself in wrong company. The honest Spaniard, however, soon removed his apprehension, by restoring his arms, and bidding him make all the haste he could, to rejoin his companions, who were not yet embarked. The Dutchman did not want many entreaties to be gone; the alarm he had felt brought him a little to his senses, and he moved off with all the alacrity imaginable, and got safe on board. Captain Rogers remarks, that this was the only man who had neglected his duty, by getting drunk; a circumstance that reflects high credit on the company, considering the predatory nature of their enterprise, and the temptations they must have had to indulge in excesses.

That punctilio of honour, from which the Spaniards never depart in appearance, and not often in reality, rendered them anxious that the terms of capitulation should express the resistance they had made; and that they had been
beaten

beaten before they consented to treat. To this the English had no objection; for as they only wanted money, and the Spaniards at last contended only for honour, the business was easily adjusted.

The contract for the ransom of Guiaquil opened in the following form: "Whereas the city of Guiaquil, lately in subjection to Philip V. King of Spain, is now taken by storm, and is in the possession of the Captains Thomas Dover, Woodes Rogers, and Stephen Courtney, commanding a body of her Majesty of Great Britain's subjects; we the underwritten are content," &c. &c.

Captain Cooke, to whose account of this expedition we occasionally refer, is of opinion, that the Indians and blacks carried off as much plunder as the English; for several of them were taken laden with goods, which they confessed were stolen; and it seems that the inhabitants had intrusted much money and plate to the negroes to carry out of the town, which they never accounted for or returned.

After all, the plunder taken by the English, exclusive of the ransom, was very considerable. It consisted of two hundred and thirty bags of flour, beans, peas, and rice, fifteen jars of oil, one hundred and sixty jars of various liquors, cordage, iron ware and nails, some powder, a parcel of clothing and necessaries, one hundred and fifty bales of dry goods, about the value of one thousand two hundred pounds in plate and trinkets, some packs of indigo, cocoa, and a quantity of loaf-sugar. Nevertheless, abundance of goods was still left in the town, besides liquors and stores of all kinds.

The hostages informed the English, that pending the treaty, eighty thousand pieces of eight, belonging to the King of Spain, had been sent out of the town to a place of security; besides plate, jewels, and other valuable articles. Hence it was evident, that if they had not parleyed with the Spaniards, but landed at once, the treasure and plunder they might have obtained would have been immense. Still, however, the parties concerned in this enterprize were perfectly satisfied with what they had secured; and all imaginable care was taken to render to every man that impartial justice which was promised and expected.

A short description of Guiaquil may now be expected. This city is the capital of the province of the same name in Peru, and is divided into the old and new towns, which are united by a wooden bridge, half a mile long. The houses in both amount to about five hundred; but there are few regular streets. The situation being low and morassy, this place cannot boast of much cleanliness, particularly in winter. It contains four churches, of which St. Jago is the principal. Before this church is a handsome parade. The churches are all adorned with altars, carved work and pictures. That which is dedicated to St. Augustine has an organ. They were said to be rich in plate, but it was all carried off, and the priests had likewise fled.

Some of the houses were built of brick, but in general, they were of timber and bamboo split. Several were decently furnished, according to the climate. The store houses of the merchants contained abundance of meal, brandy, sugar, clothing, cordage, and iron.

Some

Some of the principal inhabitants kept *calashes*, which seemed of little use, unless to carry them to church, as no roads could be made for them in the environs, on account of the swampy nature of the soil. This town, however, is well situated for commerce and ship building, and is governed by a *corregidor*, nominated by the king.

The river here is spacious, and receives many tributary streams. Its banks are adorned with villages and farm houses, interspersed with abundance of mangroves and *sarsaparillas*, which impregnating the waters, are reported to give them an antivenereal quality. The *manchineel* tree, with its poisonous apple, is common in this country, and proves destructive to whatever animal tastes it. The English saw hundreds of birds lying dead on the water, which had probably made free with this, or some other deleterious plant. They also observed many alligators in the river.

An Englishman, who had resided some time in *Guiaquil*, informed his countrymen, that some months before their arrival there had been great rejoicings for the birth of the Prince of Asturias, when one thousand one hundred foot and five hundred horse were mustered in arms; and no fewer than two hundred bulls baited or ran at the ring, in honour of this solemnity.

Wood for ship building and cocoa are the most valuable productions of the Province of *Guiaquil*. Of the latter, immense quantities are exported annually. The whole country, however, is neither peopled nor cultivated to half its reasonable extent; and though naturally rich, owing to the exactions of the governors, the inhabitants are far from being generally comfortable.

Captain

Captain Rogers, having proceeded with the barks a little below the town, took his leave, and preceded them in the pinnace, to rejoin the ships at Punta Arena. On the 29th of April, he got on board his own ship to the great joy of every person, after an absence of twelve days, in which no intelligence had been conveyed to the ships. Indeed the crews left behind, began to entertain unpleasing ideas of the fate of their comrades, and to be much distressed for the want of water. The prisoners had been reduced to a pint a day; and in a short time, it would have been impossible to furnish them with that slender allowance.

Mr. Cooke and Mr. Fry, to whom the command had been delegated, in the absence of the principal officers, had suffered much uneasiness from the number of prisoners on board the different ships; and had they not taken care to prevent any correspondence between them, and by that means kept them ignorant of their own strength, and the weakness of their masters; it would have been impossible to have answered for the consequences.

The same day that Captain Rogers returned on board, a bark of about thirty tons was taken by a boat commissioned by Captain Cooke. This vessel was laden with sheep, flour, and sugar loaves; dried beef, different kinds of grain, and some fruits. She had sailed from Pularia seven days before, at which place orders had been received from Lima to keep a good look out, as an English squadron was soon expected in those seas; whence it appeared, that the actual arrival of the consort ships was not generally known.

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Several days having elapsed without receiving the stipulated ransom from Guiaquil, the English began to suspect that the corregidor intended to delay the completion of the treaty till succours should arrive from Lima; while the unfortunate hostages repined at their fate, and were filled with the painful apprehensions of being carried prisoners to England. However, on the 1st of May, a boat arrived with a portion of the ransom, in which a number of prisoners were set on shore. Next evening twenty-two thousand pieces of eight more arrived, to the great pleasure of the English and the prisoners. By this conveyance, a message was sent to the corregidor, that it was their intention to sail the following day; and that if all the stipulations he had entered into were not fulfilled by that time, they should be under the disagreeable necessity of carrying off the hostages. Meanwhile the Governor of Puna, one of the hostages who had behaved in the most honourable manner, and several prisoners, were discharged. The former was presented with four negroes and a bale of damaged goods.

Next day a boat came with three thousand dollars in money and plate, with advice, that three thousand dollars more would soon arrive, besides twelve thousand to trade with. But it being supposed that the intention of this lure was only to detain them till a squadron should arrive from Lima, it was unanimously resolved to make all possible dispatch. The Beginning, being of no farther use, was sold to the Spaniards, and the prisoners put on board her. However, the pilots, the President of Panama's son, and some others were detained. Some presents were distributed among the Spanish captains
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whose losses had tended most to enrich the captors. Thus all parted in good humour.

Bearing away for the Gallipagos Islands, on the 11th of May, above twenty men on board the Duke and near fifty on board the Duchess, fell ill of a malignant fever; and the number of the sick hourly increased. This disorder had indubitably been contracted at Guiaquil, where, a few weeks before their arrival, a contagious disease had swept away multitudes of people. So rapid was the mortality, that the churches, the usual burial places of the natives, were found inadequate to contain the dead; and, therefore, a large square hole was dug, near that where the English kept guard. Hence being surrounded by noisome smells and pestilential effluvia, it was no wonder they felt their malignant effects. About this time, Captain Courtney too was taken ill, and Captain Dover, whom we have already mentioned as being of the medical profession, went on board to prescribe for him.

Land was discovered on the 17th, and the next day they came within four leagues of two large islands almost united; and soon after descried several others. Having fixed on a place of rendezvous, in case of separation, they sent out one of the boats in search of water; but after two unsuccessful attempts, the party returned, and reported that the island where they landed was covered with nothing but loose stones resembling cinders; and that the earth was so porous, it broke into holes under their feet. From these circumstances there could be no doubt of its volcanic origin. It however contained some shrubby wood and a few vegetables. This disappointment in water was severely felt. For some days, the English kept plying

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among those islands, which little answered the description they had heard of them. They supplied, however, plenty of tortoises, large rock-fish, and excellent guanas, more beautiful than those of the West Indies.

On the 22d, a gentleman of the name of Hatley, in one of the prize barks, with five sailors, four blacks, and an Indian, with only two days water on board, was missing, together with one of the prize ships; and though lights were kept up all night on the topmast-head of the Duke and Duchess, and guns incessantly fired, no signs appeared of their rejoining. On this Captain Rogers went in quest of them, and in a few hours came up with the prize ship; but of Hatley and his party he could gain no intelligence, and consequently they were given up for lost.

Ill fortune and disappointment attending the English among these islands, it was resolved to quit them, and to stand over to the main, in hopes of finding water, which they began to be in absolute want of. While they were proceeding in pursuance of this resolution, one of the English sailors overheard the black and Indian prisoners talk of murdering them, and running away with the ship. On being charged with this criminal intention, they acknowledged some vague conversation of this kind had passed; but denied that any thing serious was intended. However, to prevent the ill consequences of such cabals, Captain Rogers divided them among the other ships.

On the 6th of June, they took a ship of eighty tons burden, laden with iron and cloth, which struck after a short chase. She was bound from Panama to Guiaquil, and had about forty people
on

on board, among whom were some persons of distinction, particularly Juan Cardosa, who was proceeding to assume the government of Baldivia.

Next day they came to an anchor off the Island of Gorgona, and on the following, the boats of the Duke and Duchefs took another prize, called the Golden Sun, with a cargo of about five hundred pounds value. She carried ten Spaniards and Indians, and a few negroes.

On the 9th of June a council of officers was held on board the Duchefs, at which Captain Rogers was unable, from indisposition, to attend. On this occasion, having previously examined the prisoners, it was determined to steer for the port of Mangla; and securing the ships, to row up the river in their boats, till they could surprise some canoes, with which, as being best adapted to the navigation of the river, they were to attempt the gold mines of Barbacore, or St. Juan. In this enterprize they flattered themselves with obtaining ample spoils with little opposition; since they were convinced that the Spaniards in that quarter had not received the most distant intimation of an enemy being on the coast.

As Captain Rogers had signified his concurrence in what the majority should resolve on, the same night they hoisted sail for Mangla. But Captain Rogers hearing their determination, though much indisposed, resolved to consult some of the Spanish prisoners, on whose judgment he could rely, on the expediency of the measure. After repeated conferences with some of the most intelligent persons on board, and those who were best acquainted with local circumstances, he learned that who ever had advised the council to pursue such a design, either betrayed gross ignorance or

base artifice, since Mangla was not only barren and unfrequented, but the road was extremely unsafe for ships to ride in, being narrow and full of shoals. The prisoners also assured him, that the banks of the river were peopled by a race much attached to the Spaniards, who would annoy their enemies by poisoned arrows, and every device of destruction. And moreover the river was so narrow, that should they be able to surmount the difficulties of an ascent, their retreat might easily be cut off, by means which no foresight could prevent.

On receiving this information, which was corroborated by the separate testimony of persons of credit, Captain Rogers sent for the other captains, and acquainted them with the result of his enquiries, and set before them the danger to which they were about to expose themselves by this rash enterprise. Being convinced that they had been misled by the representations of some ignorant or interested pretenders, they agreed to alter their course directly, and again steer for Gorgona, where they designed to careen.

On the 13th of June, they cast anchor near Gorgona, where the Duchess was appointed to careen, while the Duke was to lie on guard, to prevent a surprisal from the enemy; and as soon as circumstances would allow, the two ships were to change situations. By using uncommon activity, both ships were ready to put to sea within fourteen days, to the astonishment of the Spanish prisoners; who observed, that careening one of the king's ships at Lima, where every kind of accommodation was ready, and artificers numerous, generally occupied the space of six weeks.

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Though the crews were much relieved from the severe indisposition under which they laboured, when they first touched at this island, it was still thought expedient to erect tents on shore for their more speedy recovery. Such as were in a convalescent state and able to walk about, rapidly gained strength, and were soon capable of returning to their duty on board. The Spanish prisoners were of the utmost service to the captors, by accompanying them into the woods, and assisting them in procuring such timber as was best adapted for their purpose.

On this island the English established a temporary rope yard, and erected tents for the different vocations connected with naval architecture. It is not, however, to be supposed that they had artificers excellent in the various branches of this duty; but necessity gave a spur to their invention, and practice brought them to something like perfection in their different lines of employment. Thus a manufactory was settled here, and all hands were busily employed, either as superintendants or artizans. Each had his particular charge and his task to perform; and this regular exercise was no less conducive to health than favourable to the objects more immediately in view.

The Spaniards formed a very partial opinion of the diligence and hardiness of the English, when they saw them labour in such a climate from day break till night; nor were they less astonished at their ingenious resources, when pressed with difficulties, and in want of such implements and necessaries as are generally deemed requisite for success.

The grand work, which occupied their most assiduous attention for ten days, was the equip-
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ment of the Havre de Grace. This object being completely finished, she received the name of the Marquis, and was manned from the supernumerary hands on board the Duke and Duchefs. On this occasion, a decent entertainment was provided; the ships saluted each other; and liquor being distributed among the crews, they drank some loyal and appropriate healths.

The new ship was furnished with twenty guns, all well mounted, and her complement of men was fixty-one whites and twenty negroes. The command was given to Captain Edward Cooke.

The next business of importance which engaged their attention, was to land the prisoners, to the number of seventy-two persons, on the continent. Hitherto they had been detained, lest their dispersion should have occasioned an alarm, while secrecy was so much required to farther success.

Every expedient having been ineffectually tried, to induce the prisoners to engage in a contraband trade, it was at last resolved to set them at liberty, and to trust to their generosity for a recompence, in case it should be in their power to serve their deliverers. Accordingly, the two Morels, Don Antonio and Don Juan Carbosa, were dismissed with the inferior captives; and at their departure, expressed the high sense they entertained of the liberal treatment they had experienced during their captivity. The latter, in particular, who had formerly been taken by a Jamaica privateer, near Porto Bello, and very indifferently used, seemed extremely sensible of the contrast; and made liberal acknowledgments, which, undoubtedly, were as honourable to himself as grateful to his benefactors. This gentleman, it has been already observed, was bound to

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Baldivia,

Baldivia, of which he was governor, at the time of his capture. He was a sprightly, elegant man, about thirty-five years of age, and had borne the commission of colonel in the Spanish service. The Morels promised to return in a day or two, with as much money as they could raise on their credit, to purchase such of the prize goods as remained on hand, which, being chiefly valuable on the coast of the South Sea, the captains declared they would otherwise burn, together with the vessels in which they were contained. In fact, the prisoners knew the chance they had of obtaining great bargains, and, therefore, acted with a cautious reserve, lest they should be finally disappointed in their views.

The bark and the two pinnaces having landed the prisoners, plundered a small village, from which they brought off seven head of cattle, a few goats, some fowls, fourteen hogs, and fifty bushels of Indian corn.

On the morning of the 17th, the Morels, and some other gentlemen, returned in a large canoe with some money and fruit; and purchased goods at such a moderate rate, that they solicitously desired to be permitted to revisit the ships again, when they would bring a fresh supply of money to trade with. This request was very agreeable to the captains, as there was no apparent danger of any enemy in the neighbourhood, capable of molesting them.

About this time, a negro having gone into the woods, had the misfortune to be stung by a speckled snake; and notwithstanding the most skilful and immediate exertions of the surgeon to save him, he died in less than twelve hours. Gorgona abounds in this dangerous species of snakes.

snakes. Some of them are as thick as a man's leg, and three or four yards long. They are of an amphibious nature; and one of them was actually found on the forecastle, having conveyed itself on board by the help of the cables.

In rummaging the Marquis, on the 19th, they discovered five hundred reams of papal bulls, which had been a free gift from his Holiness to his Catholic Majesty, and would have produced a considerable revenue in this superstitious country, being sold from three rials to fifty pieces of eight each, according to the ability of the purchaser, who is hereby exempted from the observance of particular fasts, from hearing mass, and other ecclesiastical injunctions, the neglect of which, without this pious fraud, would have been deemed sinful. As the English could not establish a traffic of this nature, and had no faith in the validity of these absolutions, in regard to themselves, they consigned part of them to the deep; and with the rest lighted their fires or boiled their kettles.

They likewise discovered a large collection of bones, in small boxes, ticketed with the names of saints, some of whom had been dead for many centuries, with an infinite number of crucifixes, rosaries, religious toys in wax, images of saints, made of wood, stone, and other materials, with other popish mummeries, to the amount of thirty tons, besides one hundred and fifty boxes of books, all brought from Italy, and intended for the use of the Jesuits of Peru. These baubles, so disgraceful to religion and to human reason, were in general left; a few specimens, however, were selected as curiosities, which they might exhibit in England.

While

While on the subject of superstition, it may not be amiss to record a particular circumstance which now happened. A large wooden image of the Virgin, which had been either casually dropped or thrown overboard, was driven to the north point of the island, where some Indians from the continent being a fishing, it was taken up and brought on shore with great devotion. These poor people set it up, and wiped it dry with cotton; but the more they wiped, the wetter it grew, as they imagined, from a profusion of sweat. Some of these persons afterwards coming on board one of the ships, was relating this miraculous event; and shewed the cotton to the linguist, which they ridiculously believed to be imbued with the sweat of the Holy Virgin; and told him, they should retain it as a choice and valuable relic.

Captain Rogers, smiling at this absurd fiction, the Morels, who happened to be on board at the same time, endeavoured to cure him of his incredulity, by relating, on their own faith, a story still more extravagant and ridiculous. They said, that some years ago there was a procession in the cathedral church of Lima, which was then very richly decorated with ornaments in gold, silver, and jewels; and that an image of the Virgin, in particular, was splendidly adorned with diamonds and pearls. These costly decorations were, according to custom, left unguarded in the church till the night after the procession; from the belief that none would be so sacrilegious as to touch them. However, an unfortunate thief, perhaps, less a good catholic than a great sinner, resolving to enrich himself by one daring action, broke into the church at midnight; made
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up to the image without fear, and attempted to wrest a string of rich pearls from the Virgin's wrist. The attempt was instantly resented: she seized the culprit by the arm and held him fast; and being found in that posture, he was, on the credit of such a miracle, apprehended and executed. So much for popish miracles, which few have the audacity now to support, and fewer the weakness to believe!

The Morels having collected all the money they could raise, returned again on the 27th, and informed the captains, that the country being much alarmed, they found great difficulty in being permitted to come off; and that the governor of Barbacore, at the head of two hundred men, was on the coast to prevent the natives from carrying on any traffic with them; or to oppose them, in case they should attempt to land. The Morels continued to behave with strict integrity; and though they procured excellent bargains, it should be observed, they ran proportionable risks.

A committee of officers being appointed to appraise the plunder, and to divide it among the officers and men, according to their respective quotas, met on board the galleon. The clothes and valuable trinkets amounted to upwards of one thousand one hundred pounds, at a very low calculation. To reward those who had distinguished themselves, and to stimulate others to future exertions, several extra bounties were distributed among the most meritorious.

Notwithstanding this impartiality to all, and liberal attention to such as were confessedly the most deserving, a dangerous mutiny was soon after set on foot, which might have proved of
fatal

fatal consequence, had it not been happily and timeously discovered by the steward of the *Duchess*, who happened to overhear the ring-leaders debating about the mode of procedure in their meditated insurrection. It appeared, that sixty of them had pledged themselves to specific articles, which they had already signed; the principal of which was to stand by each other till they had obtained justice, as they termed it, in regard to the division of the plunder, which they pretended was unfairly allotted.

Four of the chief promoters of the revolt, among whom was the person who drew up the articles, were immediately clapped in irons; but, on asking pardon, and making due submission, were soon after set at liberty. Indeed, the captains reflected, that it would be dangerous to proceed to extremities where so many were concerned; and they were glad, by temporizing expedients, and the sincere promise of amendment, on the part of the most active, to allay the present ferment.

Captain Rogers exhausted every soothing argument, to shew the folly and danger of such combinations; and assured them, that justice would be done them in England, should they have the least occasion, now or in future, during the voyage, to object to the conduct they experienced. By such assuatives all appeared easy and quiet, and acquiesced in what had been done. Some concessions were made on the part of the officers and gentlemen concerned in the expedition, by which the prize money was a little more equalized; and new regulations were drawn up to encourage the detection of such as
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should secrete any plunder, or take any unfair advantages.

In all voyages of this kind, where the love of gain is the only inducement to engage, the thirst of sudden riches is insatiable, and can never be wholly allayed. The principal of honour is found too weak to restrain the common mass; and the policy of the conductors must invariably be exerted, to preserve such a share of unanimity, as is essentially necessary to general or partial success.

Captain Rogers concluded a pathetic harangue with the strongest assurances, that every man should be gratified, to the utmost, in every legal claim; that the common men should have an increase in their shares of plunder; and that he trusted to their duty, their patriotism and discernment, no more conspiracies would be formed.

About this time, Captain Rogers suggested a scheme, which, he conceived, would be beneficial both to the owners and adventurers; which was to dispatch Captain Cooke, in the Marquis, with a cargo of prize goods to the Brasils, where they would have yielded three times as much as where they were; but his consorts not falling into his views, or not sufficiently understanding them, the project was dropped, of which, however, its opponents repented when it was too late.

As the only alternative, it was now agreed to give up to the Morels and partners their respective ships, some negroes, and all the goods they could carry away. For this they were to pay twelve thousand pieces of eight, which, with three thousand remaining of the ransom of Guisquil, made fifteen thousand in the whole, to be delivered at Maata within the the space of twelve days.

days. The money on board, for the use of the owners, was now estimated at twenty thousand pounds, and the goods at sixty thousand more.

It was intended to give these gentlemen a passport, in case they should fall into the hands of the Spaniards; and to have received an acknowledgment, under their hands, as to the particulars of the bargain; but the bark sailed away, without either, in the night.

As a proof of the honourable conduct of the crew to the prisoners in general, it deserves remark, that among them was a lady and her family. Her eldest daughter was very handsome, and had been lately married, and was now accompanied by her husband. This family had the great cabin of the galleon appropriated to their sole use, and none were suffered to intrude; yet the husband, we are told, shewed some symptoms of jealousy, the epidemic disease of the Spaniards. Notice was given to some of the officers, that these ladies had concealed treasure about their persons; and a little negro girl, being sent to watch them, found some gold chains and other valuables, curiously hid under their clothes. They received, however, all their wearing apparel and necessaries, at parting; and confessed the civility with which they had been treated, which, they owned, exceeded what the English would have found among their countrymen. The young lady seemed so highly grateful, that she sent back her husband, with a sum of gold, to purchase goods and two slaves.

While the English lay at Gorgona, one Michael Kendall, a free negro of Jamaica, who had for some time lived in a state of slavery in the village. they plundered on the continent, came on board;

and related the subsequent remarkable account of an unfortunate attempt on the gold mines.

He said, that when war was declared at Jamaica, he embarked under the command of Captain Roberts, who was joined in commission with Captains Golding, Pilkington, and Rath. Their force consisted of one hundred and six men, and their design was to attempt the mines of St. Jago, at the bottom of the Isthmus of Darien.

Having proceeded, for fifteen days, up the river in canoes, and afterwards travelled ten days by land, the Spaniards and Indians being alarmed, began to lay ambuscades, and shot several of them from their coverts. At length the enemy having collected five hundred men, and the English being reduced to about sixty, including the wounded, the Spaniards, after a skirmish, in which the English had the advantage, sent them a flag of truce. Being in want of provisions, harassed to death, and ignorant of their route, either to advance or retreat, they surrendered their arms, and submitted themselves as prisoners of war. In this light they seemed to be regarded by the captors for three days; but on the fourth, when they apprehended all danger was at an end, an order arrived from a Spanish chief to massacre them, which cruel injunction was immediately put in execution, as these unarmed wretches were sitting at a humble repast, unsuspecting of treachery. At the intercession of a priest, however, a native of Scotland, a Frenchman, and twelve free negroes were preserved from the carnage, and kept as slaves. This man, one of the latter description, was sent to the mines, where he cleared for his master three pieces of eight a day, at the least; and was afterwards

wards removed to the place where they found him. The rest of these unhappy captives, the victims of a base perfidy, were sent farther up the country, where they had no opportunity of making an escape.

The Island of Gorgona is situated in 3 deg. north latitude, about six leagues from the main. It is about three leagues long and one broad. It is replete with tall trees, among which is the palma maria, from which issues a balsam of sovereign efficacy in several diseases; while the timber supplies the Spaniards with masts.

The animals found here are chiefly monkeys, guinea pigs, hares, lizards, and the creature called the lion-lizard, or cameleon, which is well known to vary its colours according to the light in which it is viewed.

The sloth is likewise found here, one of the most disgusting animals in creation. One of these was caught by the sailors; and though they were little acquainted with its habits, they seem to have regarded it in a very unfavourable point of view, both with respect to its external form and the qualities it displayed.

It has already been observed, that there are some very poisonous reptiles. It is, indeed, dangerous for a man to traverse the island, for fear of treading on them unawares.

The feathered inhabitants are not numerous, except a large sort of fowl called caracosos; but the rocks shelter an infinite number of bats, which fly about during the night.

The seas are replenished with fish, many of unknown species in Europe. Mulletts are very plenty, but they are difficult to be caught with a hook and line, which Captain Rogers justly at-

tributes to the limpid purity of the water, which puts them on their guard. Pearl oysters, and some white coral, were likewise found on the coasts.

Every thing being ready, they left Gorgona on the 7th of August, and ten days after, took a bark of seventy tons burden from Panama to Lima. She was chiefly laden with passengers, from whom they learned, that the whole coast was alarmed, and the inhabitants under the greatest apprehensions; expecting the same fate as those of Guiaquil.

The ships being incompletely manned, and as there was a probability of more actions, it was thought advisable to recruit a little. Accordingly, on the 16th, having mustered the negroes on board the Duke, they were found to amount to thirty-five, all able active men. When assembled, Captain Rogers gave them to understand, that if they would behave with bravery and fidelity, their slavery was at an end. Thirty-two of them joyfully embraced the offer, and requested that they might be instructed in the use of arms, which some of them already understood. Michael Kendall, the Jamaica negro was appointed their leader, and he was charged to keep them in constant exercise. They received a dram all round, to confirm their new engagement; and drank to the mutual success of the ships. They were desired to consider themselves as Englishmen, and no longer as slaves to the Spaniards; which diffused a visible pleasure over their countenances; and they seemed proud of the distinction they had acquired.

The barks entered the Bay of Jecames on the 25th, and soon after the ships anchored near them.

them. About the close of the day, Mr. White, the linguist, and a Spanish prisoner, venturing on shore without orders, were shot at by some Indians in ambush ; though they called out in Spanish that they were friends. They had the good fortune, however, to escape with their lives, and lay concealed all night ; while their companions on board suspected nothing less than their captivity or death.

In the morning, the linguist again ventured to hail the Indians, and obtained their consent to trade, should it meet with the approbation of their padre, who resided at the distance of some leagues. The linguist informed the natives, that they had a padre on board ; and upon their expressing a wish to see him, he was sent on shore, whence he wrote a letter to his brother padre, in which he strongly urged the generosity and civility of the English, and the mutual advantages which would accrue from treating them well. He displayed the power of the people in whose hands he was ; and proved, that it would be easy for them to carry by force, more than they wished to effect by treaty ; but that their kind and benevolent disposition restrained them.

This had such a good effect, that the natives promised they would traffic with the English whether their priest consented or not. One of the Indians coming off in the boat, was brought on board the ship, where he stared wildly ; but seemed much delighted with the great cabin, in which he laid himself down, as if to gratify his wonder and admiration at his ease. Captain Rogers giving him a glass of brandy, and some insignificant presents, led him out, and sent him safely on shore. Meantime a watering party rowing up a creek,

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accidentally

accidentally fell in with one of the Indian chiefs, who was painted, and armed with bows and arrows. He civilly pointed out the spot where they might find wholesome water; and being offered a dram out of a quart bottle of brandy, he tossed off the greatest part of it at a draught, and went away well pleased with his reception; telling them they should be supplied from the village with whatever necessaries it afforded.

The padre of the country consenting to a trade, next day the English exchanged baize and other goods for black cattle and hogs. At first it was observed, that the Indians had painted themselves red, which is understood to be a declaration of war; but they afterwards rubbed it off, though they still retained their weapons of defence. A present, however, having been made them of three large wooden saints, to decorate their church, they seemed not a little gratified. This was, perhaps, the highest favour to them, and the cheapest the English could pay. Captain Rogers sent likewise a cap of plumes to the Indian chief's wife; for which he received a present of bows and arrows.

A sufficient quantity of water and provisions being laid in, and the ships heeled and cleaned, they dismissed the priest whom they had on board; and indulged him farther, by giving him a handsome young negro girl, of whom he seemed much fonder than of his function. He was presented also with some baize, linen, and other articles, as a remuneration for his activity in promoting their commerce. The Jecames' padre received a male negro and some pieces of baize, as an acknowledgment for his kindness.



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*Captain Rogers attacked
by a Seal.*

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Jecames is a small, low-lying village, consisting of a few houses and a church. The houses are built of split bamboos, and covered with palmetto leaves. They are erected on posts, and have the hog-sties under them, which circumstance will sufficiently shew, that elegance is little to be expected here.

The men are employed in killing wild swine, with bows and arrows, and in striking fish with their lances; in both of which occupations they are very dexterous. The women attend to domestic concerns: and, except a piece of baize tied round the waist, go entirely naked.

Leaving this bay, with a fortnights fresh provisions on board, they directed their course to the Gallipagos; and in their way saw several grampusses and whales engaged with the sword fish; besides abundance of water snakes, one of which made up close to Captain Cooke's ship, but was beat off by the men. The Spaniards reckon the bite of these animals mortal.

On the 10th of September, they made one of the Gallipagos, and there laid in a sufficient supply of excellent turtle and fish. The Spaniards make these islands amount to fifty; but one only furnishes that essential article, fresh water. They abound with sea and land fowls: among the latter, doves and hawks are so tame as to suffer themselves to be knocked down with a stick. The seals are uncommonly fierce, and will attack any man that falls in their way, as Captain Rogers experienced. Being on the level sand, one of these animals advanced out of the water, open mouthed against him, with the same savage ferocity as an angry mastiff let loose. The captain defended himself by piercing its breast with a pike,

a pike, on which it retired a little; but came on again with fresh fury, which it repeated three times, till it had received as many wounds; when it retired into the sea, snarling and indignant.

They found here some land-turtle of one hundred pounds weight, and sea-turtle of four hundred: of these they took as many as was convenient to carry off. Rogers relates, on the authority of one of his officers, that some of these animals were seen here which could not weigh less than seven hundred pounds; and that two men, out of jest, being mounted on the back of one of them, the creature moved off in its usual deliberate pace, without seeming sensible of the weight.

On the 15th they were in sight of the rock where Mr. Hatley and his party were last seen, on their former visit to those islands. In this vicinity Captain Rogers ordered a gun to be fired, that in case this unfortunate man was alive, he might find some means of returning the signal. No signs, however, of any human creature appeared; and they drew the melancholy conclusion, that he was no more.

Captain Rogers again set sail on the 17th of September, and on the 4th came up with the islands, known by the appellation of Tres Marias, where they wooded and watered. It was not, however, without some difficulty that they found a wholesome stream, the greatest part of the springs being strongly impregnated by minerals, had a strong cathartic effect; and consequently were unfit for general use. While they lay here, several negroes deserted, and hid themselves in the woods,

The middlemost of these islands is situated in 21 deg. 35 min. north latitude, at a small distance from the coast of Mexico. The largest, which lies to the west, is about five leagues in length, the middlemost about three, and the most eastern, scarcely two. Near this last, are two or three broken white rocks, one of which had so much the appearance of a ship under sail, that a signal was made for chase.

Among the vegetable productions of these islands, are *lignum vitæ*, birch, silk grass, prickly pear, euphorbium, besides many other kinds. Birds are very numerous. Of the smaller quadrupeds, they saw racoons, rabbits, and hares, not much differing from the European species.

Green turtle were found in the most luxuriant abundance, so that two men could turn one hundred in a night. The seas were well stored with fish of great delicacy.

Leaving these islands, they steered to the north; and next day sent the bark on the shore of Puerto Seguro, in California, in search of water. Some Indians made their appearance on bark logs; but at first shewed signs of apprehension, till allured to familiarity by some presents, for which they returned a couple of live foxes, a deer's skin, and two bladders of water. Till this interview, it was imagined, that the Spaniards had missionaries among these people; but as they appeared in a state of nature, without any European commodities, or the knowledge of any language, save their own, it was concluded they were still independent. The bark was a second time dispatched with some trifles to procure a supply of refreshments.

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Some of the crew having ventured on shore on bark logs, the usual marine vehicle along these coasts, for the sea is generally too rough to suffer a common boat to live; the good-natured Indians conducted them up the bank by the hand, and introduced them to an old man seated on a deer's skin. Their guides falling down on their knees, the English did the same, after which the Indians wiped the water off the stranger's faces with their hands. This friendly ceremony being ended, each of the sailors, supported by two of the natives, was slowly led through a narrow path to their huts, where they were welcomed by a singular kind of music, or rather noise, occasioned by rubbing two jagged sticks across each other, and humming to it.

After this, they all sat down on the ground, and the Indians having regaled their guests with broiled fish, conducted them back in the same manner as they came, attended by their native music. These harmless people displayed all their natural and artificial productions, to entertain their visitors; but carefully concealed their women, children, and arms. Some of their knives, made of shark's teeth, and some other curiosities of this kind, were brought on board, and presented to Captain Rogers.

The place where the English landed, was inhabited by more than two hundred Indians, who lived in huts constructed of the boughs of trees and reeds, with a fire before the entrance. The men were perfectly naked; and the women wore only a short petticoat made of silk grass, or deer skins, depending to the knee. Round their necks some of them wore pearls notched round,
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not perforated, and tied together with silk grass. It seemed, indeed, that they were too ignorant of the mechanic arts, to be able to bore a hole through a pearl.

The men are straight and well-limbed, subsisting by fishing and hunting; they are of a dark brown complexion, and have long hair. Their arms are bows and arrows, in the use of which they are very skilful. They set a greater value on European knives, scissars, and nails, than on gold or silver; and, among a people where the arts of luxury are unknown, this estimate is just.

The women, who possess few personal charms, are employed in the collection and grinding of grain, and in manufacturing fishing lines. These people seem to possess an innate principle of honesty; and made free with nothing, however exposed, that was not gratuitously given them.

The Bay of Puerto Seguro abounds in fish; in striking which, the natives are extremely dexterous, as well as in diving for pearl oysters. The sailors told Captain Rogers, that they saw one of them dive with his fishing implements, and while he was under water, put up his striker with a fish on the point of it, which was taken off by an associate that watched his progress in a bark log. This appears the more credible, as rusty knives were sometimes thrown overboard, on purpose to try their excellence in diving; and it was seldom that the knife could sink more than three or four fathoms, before it was seized, and brought up by the active diver.

From the mountains down to the sea, the land is rocky; but intermixed with pleasant vales and plains.

plains. The soil is sandy, and therefore not very prolific. It produces, however, some fruits and roots, which the simple natives use instead of bread. The English tried some of these articles of food, and found them sufficiently palatable and wholesome.

It was on the 1st of November, that the ships came in sight of the high lands of California, which the sailors call Cape St. Lucas. It was now necessary to put those regulations in practice which had been framed, in regard to cruising, plunder, and attention to duty. Captain Rogers was stationed farthest from the land, the *Duchess* was placed in the centre, and the *Marquis* near the shore. By this arrangement, the squadron spread fifteen leagues; and could see, by day, any vessel that might pass within twenty leagues of the shore. It was also settled, that they were to ply to windward all day, and drive all night. Soon after, the *Duchess* and *Marquis*, for particular reasons, changed stations. It gave the captains pleasure to reflect, that it was near this very place where Sir Thomas Cavendish took the Manilla ship.

On the 28th the *Marquis* fired a gun, which was immediately answered by the *Duchess*, Captain Rogers tacked and made sail, supposing that a stranger was in sight. The *Marquis* stood towards him; but on coming up, it was with astonishment, Captain Rogers was informed, that the *Duke* had been taken for the Manilla ship. Immediately each ship returned to her station.

Next morning, the bark, which had been becalmed, came off the shore. As she had stayed much longer than was expected, it was apprehended she had been cut off by the Indians.

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On the 9th of December, the master of the bark came on board, with some presents, which he had procured from the Indians. With him, Captain Rogers sent the master of his own vessel, to reconnoitre the coast, in order to find, if possible, a more secure harbour; and to convey intelligence to Captain Courtney, that it was advisable one of the ships at a time should go into the bay, to take in a supply of wood and water.

Indeed it began to be a matter of doubt, whether the Manilla ship had really passed or not, as it was after the usual season in which she ought to have made this coast; nor was it possible to obtain any intelligence which might extricate them from this dilemma. To act with judgment and spirit in so nice a conjuncture, it was resolved to cruise no longer than eight days more, in hopes of this long-expected vessel; and that, in the interim, the Marquis should go into the harbour to refit, while the Duke and Duchefs remained on the look-out.

The stock of provisions being examined, it was found that there was bread for no more than seventy days, at a very moderate allowance. The run to Guam, one of the Ladrones, could not be performed in less than fifty; and from hence it was evident, that an alternative of difficulties presented themselves. To quit the station, where they had so long indulged hopes, before the time agreed on, would have excited unpleasant sensations; and to run the risk of famine, was still more terrible.

These thoughts occasioned a depression of spirits among such as could reflect. However, on the 21st of December, they bore away for the port where the Marquis was refitting; and at

nine in the morning, the man at the mast head cried out that he saw a strange sail, about seven leagues distant.

The Duke and Duchefs immediately hoisted their ensigns, and bore away after her; but it falling calm, the pinnace was manned, and sent out to make observations. Meanwhile, the crews were much divided in their opinions, as some of them were very positive that the vessel they were in pursuit of, was no other than the Marquis coming out of port. For some hours it was impossible to settle this disputed point with precision; because there was very little wind, and the pinnace kept at a distance. At last Captain Rogers sent off Mr. Fry to the Duchefs, with which ship he saw the pinnace had held some correspondence, to clear up the mystery; and he soon had the pleasure to hear, that this was really the Manilla ship, for which he had waited so long, and of whose arrival he now began to despair. This news revived their sinking spirits; and every person was as alert as could be desired. The idea of immediate wealth overcame the fear of famine. In short, nothing was thought of but the treasure, which was now supposed to be within their reach.

As the day was far spent, it was agreed, that the two pinnaces should tend the stranger all night, and keep up shewing false fires. The ships were cleared for action; and every preparation made to secure the prize, for which the return of day was anxiously expected. At day break, the chase appeared at the distance of a league. At first scarce a breath of air was stirring; but having rowed some little time, a small breeze sprung up.

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The spirituous liquors being exhausted, Captain Rogers ordered a large kettle of chocolate to be made for his men, after which repast they went to prayers, and before they were ended, the enemy began to fire. To deter the English from boarding them, they had suspended barrels from each yard arm, which looked like powder barrels.

At eight in the morning, the engagement began between the Manilla ship and the Duke; for the Duchefs, having little wind, did not come up. The enemy fired her stern-chace, which the Duke returned several times with her fore-chace. Soon after, both ships closing, several broadsides were exchanged; and they kept plying each other with small arms; but, in the ready use of great guns, the Spaniards appeared vastly inferior to the English.

After continuing the action for some time, the Duke shot a little ahead, and plied the Spaniard so warmly, that she struck her colours two-thirds down. By this time the Duchefs came up, and fired a few guns, with a volley of small-shot; but the enemy, having submitted, made no return.

The pinnace being sent on board, brought off the captain and officers, who, being examined, told them, that they left Manilla in company with a ship of much greater burden and strength; but, having parted with her three months before, they supposed she had reached Acapulco.

The prize bore the pompous name of *Nuestra Signiora de la Incarnacion disenganio*, Sir John Pichberty commander: she had twenty guns, twenty pattereroes, and one hundred and ninety

three men, whereof nine were killed, ten wounded, and several blown up with gunpowder.

The engagement lasted about three glasses. On the side of the English, only Captain Rogers and an Irishman of the name of Powel were wounded. The captain unfortunately received a shot through the left cheek; the bullet struck away part of his upper jaw, and several of his teeth; part of which dropped beside him on the deck where he fell. In this melancholy situation, he was obliged to write his commands, to prevent the loss of blood, and the pain of speaking. Powel was only slightly wounded in the buttock. The rigging of the Duke was considerably damaged, and the mizen-mast disabled by a shot.

Two days after, the ships being put to rights, they stood in for the harbour; and the surgeons were sent on board the prize, to dress the wounded. Coming to an anchor near the Marquis, they received the congratulations of her crew on this sudden and unexpected success, which spread a general joy.

A consultation was next held on two important points: first, what way the hostages should be disposed of; and next, how they should act in regard to the other Manilla ship, which it was thought had not yet passed.

At last it was agreed on, that, since they had reason to believe the hostages from Guiaquil, and the commander of the Manilla ship, were men of strict honour, it would be advisable to make the best terms with them that could be done, and then set them at liberty. The last point under consideration was not so easily settled. Captain Rogers was desirous of going out in company
with

with the Duchefs, to cruife for the other Manilla ſhip; but ſome reflections having been caſt on Captain Courtney, for his tardineſs in coming up in the late engagement, he was bent on proceeding with the Marquis; and a majority ſiding with him, the Duke was to ſtay in the harbour to reſit. It was, however, ſettled, that ten of her beſt ſeamen ſhould be turned over to the Duchefs, to ſtrengthen the crew, in caſe of an attack. On Chriſtmas eve they ſailed.

As ſoon as they were gone, Captain Rogers made preparations for diſcharging his priſoners. Stipulations were entered into, to accept the ſum of fix thouſand pieces of eight, in bills drawn on London, in lieu of the remaining ranſom of Guiaquil, and the bark and cargo. Chevalier Pichberty drew theſe bills; and gave an acknowledgment under his own hand, that he thought the bargain highly favourable to the Spaniards.

On Chriſtmas day, Captain Rogers poſted two ſentinels on the top of a hill, from whence was a wide proſpect of the ſea, with inſtructions to convey ſignals, by which he might underſtand if his conſorts had fallen in with the expected ſhip; and that he might have time to prepare to lend them aſſiſtance, in caſe of need.

Next day the ſentinels gave the ſignals preſcribed, that a ſtrange ſhip was in ſight; on which the priſoners were immediately put on board the bark, ſtripped of her ſails; and all hands, that could be ſpared, were collected on board the Duke. The priſoners, about one hundred and ſeventy perſons, being ſecured on board the bark, which was deprived of all her ſailing tackle, and moored at a diſtance from the prize, had only a few men left to ſupply them

them with provisions, rather than to guard them, that as many as possible might be mustered, to assist the consort vessels on emergency.

Captain Rogers was in a very weak condition, from his late wounds; yet such was his spirit, that neither the remonstrances of the officers, nor the advice of the surgeons, could prevail on him to remain behind. He weighed anchor, and next morning saw three sail to the windward. About nine o'clock the *Duchess* and the chace were near together, and the *Marquis* was crowding sail to come up with them. The wind being scant, the *Duke* made little way.

In the afternoon, the *Marquis* came up with the enemy, and engaged her briskly; but soon fell to leeward, apparently disabled. On this Captain Rogers manned his pinnace, and sent her off to their assistance; but before she could get up, the *Marquis* again made sail, and renewed the action, which continued till dark.

About midnight, the *Duke* was pretty well up with the chace, and her boat came on board, having made false fires, which were answered. The crew informed their captain, that they had been aboard both the consort vessels, and that the *Duchess* was much disabled. They reported farther, that the enemy at one time was in much disorder; her guns not being all mounted, and consequently their netting-deck and close quarters exposed.

From this it was more than probable, that had the *Duke* accompanied the *Duchess*, as Captain Rogers proposed, the Spaniard must have fallen a prey to their united force; but the *Marquis* being an indifferent sailer, and not carrying heavy metal, could render a very inadequate assistance,

sistance. In addition to these disadvantages, the Marquis had fired away nearly all her powder.

This intelligence induced Captain Rogers to send off his boat with some ammunition for the Marquis, under Lieutenant Fry, who carried instructions how to act to the best advantage the ensuing morning.

The chace had made signals to the Duke all day, believing her to be her consort, and after it was dark, edged away towards her, which gave Captain Rogers an advantage the wind would otherwise have prevented, in spite of all his exertions.

As soon as it was day, the chace fired on the Duchefs, which she returned with spirit; but, from the situation the Duke was in, did almost as much damage to the latter as the former. This made Captain Rogers change his position, and to keep close aboard the enemy, driving as she did. In the course of the action, the Duke received a shot in the main mast, which much disabled it, and soon after, both the consort ships nearly fell on board the enemy; by which means they were prevented from using their guns with effect. In a short time, a fire ball from the enemy lighting on the quarter deck of the Duke, blew up a loaded chest of arms, and scorched several of the men. Getting clear of each other, the Duchefs stood in for the shore, where she lay mending her rigging; the Marquis fired several shot to very little purpose; and a second shot in the mainmast of the Duke, almost rendered her unfit for service.

In this dilemma, Captain Roger's steered off and brought to, making a signal for his consorts to do the same. In a short time, Captains Courtney

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ney and Cooke went on board the Duke; and on taking the state of the ships into consideration, and the little impression they had made on the enemy, it was reluctantly resolved to desist from any farther attempts upon her; and to make the best of their way into the harbour, and secure the prize they had already captured.

During the repeated engagements, which lasted about seven glasses, the Duke had eleven men wounded. Captain Rogers was again unfortunately wounded in the left foot with a splinter, so that he could not stand. Part of his heel-bone was struck out, and all under the ankle miserably lacerated.

The Duchess had about twenty men killed and wounded; but the Marquis had only two hurt, who were scorched with gunpowder.

The enemy was a fine new ship, the admiral of Manilla, and this was her first voyage. She was called the Vigonia, of about nine hundred tons, and four hundred and fifty men, besides passengers, of whom one hundred and fifty were Europeans. Several of them having been formerly pirates, were desperate in defence of that wealth they had illegally acquired, at the risk of their lives. This may account for the resolute defence that was made. The ship was capable of carrying sixty guns, but only forty were mounted, with as many pattereroes, all of brass. The gunner, it appeared, was perfectly acquainted with his business, and put her in an excellent state for defence.

Thus ended the attempt of the English on this capital Manilla ship, which they might have secured, had an adequate force attacked her, before she had gained time to prepare for resistance.

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It was probable she might have been set on fire at last ; but this idea was relinquished, from the consideration that all the consort ships had valuable cargoes on board ; and to have endangered what was already secured, merely on the prospect of doing mischief to the enemy, would have displayed rashness rather than resolution.

It seems the Spaniards were the better provided for this conflict, because they had heard at Manilla, that a small squadron, of which Dampier was pilot, had sailed from Bristol for the South Seas.

On the 1st of January 1710, they returned into port ; and were now determined to expedite their voyage to the East Indies to the utmost. The prisoners were immediately released, and put on board a bark, with water and provisions sufficient to carry them to Acapulco. Some days were then spent in wooding and watering ; and it was with satisfaction they discovered such a quantity of bread on board the prize, as, with the old stock, was judged sufficient to carry them to Guam.

Some regulations were now adopted among the officers, by which Captain Dover was promoted to the chief command of the Marquis. This did not meet the ideas of Captain Rogers ; but as Messrs. Fry and Stratton were to superintend the navigation of that ship, and Dover was to be no more than nominally commander, he at last yielded. The crews were likewise a little more equalized ; and all differences being accommodated, they drank success to the remainder of the voyage, and a safe arrival in Great Britain. In case of separation, during the long run they had to undertake,

undertake, Guam was appointed the place of rendezvous.

The Manilla ships, in general, are much richer than the prize they had taken on this coast; for it seems she waited a long time for the Chinese junks to bring silks, which not arriving in time, she was freighted with coarser commodities. Several of the prisoners assured Captain Rogers, that it is nothing unusual for one of those vessels to be worth ten millions of pieces of eight; so that had it not been for this accident, they would have obtained a very valuable prize indeed.

With regard to the larger vessel, in their attempts on which they had been foiled, Captain Rogers afterwards met with a sailor, whose account served to diminish his regret for this failure. This man served on board her during the action, and detailed all the circumstances attending it in such a manner, as rendered his veracity unquestionable. He said, it would have been impossible to take her; for the gunner constantly kept in the powder room declaring, that he had taken the sacrament to blow her up, in case the English should succeed in boarding her; which desperate resolution made the men frantic in her defence.

On the 10th of January they weighed from Porto Seguro, but did not lose sight of the land till the 12th. Several of the men were in a weak condition, besides Captain Rogers and Mr. Vanburgh, and the rest of the wounded. They were, moreover, reduced to a short allowance; and some of the crews afterwards making free with such provisions as were within their reach, venial as this might have been under more favourable

vourable circumstances, they were, as an example, punished with some severity.

The voyage was continued with prosperous winds ; and on the 10th of March they had sight of Serpana and Guam, two of the Ladrones. Next day they steered for the latter, having been all day viewed by the natives in different proas, which passed them with prodigious celerity, but could not be induced to stop.

Being now under an absolute necessity of procuring a supply of provisions, especially of bread and flour, of which their stock was reduced to fourteen days short allowance ; it was resolved to get some of the inhabitants on board, and detain them as hostages, in case they should be under the necessity of sending any of their men to negotiate with the governor.

Accordingly, they took two Spaniards, who hailed them, and came on board, as they were turning into the harbour, under the colours of that nation. One of these was detained as an hostage, the other was dispatched with the linguists, carrying a letter to the governor of the place, in which they demanded the liberty of trading in a peaceable manner for provisions and refreshments ; for which they would not only render prompt payment, but in every other respect acquit themselves as friends ; threatening, however, in case of a refusal, to proceed to open hostilities.

Next morning, the pinnace belonging to the *Duchess* was sent on shore with a flag of truce ; to the crew of which the natives shewed the most friendly attention, promising to supply them with such provisions as might be spared, provided the governor gave his consent.

About

About noon, one of the linguists returned, bringing with him three Spanish gentlemen, with an answer from the governor, expressive of his readiness to accommodate them with whatever the island afforded. In return to this polite declaration, a deputy was sent from each ship to wait upon the governor, and to carry him a handsome present for his proffered kindness.

Next day several officers went in the pinnace to dine with the governor, in consequence of an invitation they had received. These were treated with all imaginable respect and friendship: two hundred men were drawn up to welcome their landing; and the officers and clergy of the island formed a cavalcade, and conducted them to the governor's palace, a handsome edifice, considering the quarter of the globe, and the circumstances of his government.

At the entertainment there were at least sixty dishes produced; and when the English took leave, they were saluted with a volley of small arms. In return for this condescending politeness, they presented the governor with two negro boys, richly dressed in liveries, twenty yards of scarlet serge, and six pieces of cambric, with which he seemed highly gratified.

The Island of Guam, which has often been described, contains accommodations for the officers and crew of the Acapulco ship, during the necessary time they stay here to take in necessaries and refreshments, in their voyage to Manilla. At this time there were about three hundred Spaniards on this and the neighbouring islands; and most of the natives were converts to their religion. It appeared that they had eight priests,
fix

six of whom taught school, besides performing their ordinary vocations.

Guam produces the bread fruit, cocoa nuts, and a variety of excellent fruits, some of which are not indigenous, but thrive prodigiously here. The indigo plant grows wild in abundance, and were the natives industrious, it might be converted into a lucrative branch of trade. They have plenty of cattle and hogs; and, indeed, all classes appeared to live very comfortably on the spontaneous productions of the country, with little labour and less care.

The governor's residence is near a small village and convent, and this forms the chief settlement of the Spaniards in these islands. At that time only four Spanish women resided here. Money is scarce; because, trusting to the voluntary bounties of nature, they have little occasion for its use.

The native Indians are a hale athletic people, of a dark olive colour. They go entirely naked, except a small piece of cloth, which they wear by way of modesty. The women appear in a short petticoat. The men are dexterous at flinging oval pieces of clay, burnt as hard as marble; and with these they are capable of killing a man at a considerable distance.

On the 18th, the English gave an entertainment on board the Duke, to which their own officers were invited, and four Spanish gentlemen, in the retinue of the governor. Captain Rogers made them as welcome as time and place would permit; diverting them with music, and dancing till midnight; when all parties separated well pleased.

It being thought reasonable to make the governor's deputy a present, for the trouble he had been at in collecting the supplies, he received a compensation to his satisfaction; and was paid as much for what had been delivered, as amounted to double its value in his opinion, which he certified under his own hand.

This affair being amicably finished, it was agreed to steer by a south-west course, to get clear of the islands; and then to proceed direct to Mindanao, and from thence to Ternate.

Mean time an old Spaniard, named Antonio Gomes Figuero, who had been captured in the South Seas, about the commencement of the voyage there, was set on shore. It was originally intended to carry him to England, in order to facilitate the condemnation of the prizes; but being in a very reduced state of health, a certificate was taken under his hand, signifying that he saw the capture of several prizes belonging to the subjects of Philip V. King of Spain, &c. This old man received some clothes and necessaries at parting, and was consigned to the care of the deputy governor of Guam. To conclude the governor's civilities, he made Captain Rogers a present of one of the flying proas of these islands, which, he asserted, would run twenty leagues in an hour. This might be an exaggeration; but it is certain, their velocity almost exceeds belief.

On the 21st of March they got under sail, and soon encountered several storms. About the middle of April they again made land, which they supposed to be the eastern extremity of Celebes. Here they fell in with three waterspouts, one of which had like to have burst on the Marquis;

quis ; but the Ducheſs firing at it, it broke without doing them any damage.

Soon after they deſcried land again, which they conjectured to be Gilolo. In this doubtful manner they proceeded till the end of the month ; and had the additional mortification to find the Duke ſo leaky, that ſhe was with difficulty kept clear.

Captain Dampier, who had twice navigated thoſe ſeas, diſcouraged them very much by aſſerting, that it would be impoſſible to find reſreſhments, unleſs they could reach the Iſle of Ternate. At this period, too, the ſhort allowance to which the crews were reduced, occaſioned much murmuring ; and the officers found themſelves obliged, out of policy, to enlarge it ; ſo little chance is there of being able to argue with effect againſt hunger !

After various unimportant tranſactions, they reached ſome iſlands near Bouton on the 25th of May, when the pinnaces were ſent on ſhore, and ſoon returned with plenty of cocoa nuts ; and reported, that the inhabitants, who ſpoke the Malayan tongue, behaved with great civility.

The ſhips now attempted to find anchorage, but in vain : the Duke ſounded with a line of eighty fathoms, and almoſt ran her bowsprit aſhore, yet could find no ground : the natives, however, at laſt directed to a bank where they might anchor. Meanwhile ſeveral canoes came off with fowls, Indian corn, and fruits, which were readily exchanged for goods. Some officers, who were ſent aſhore in the yawl and pinnace, were courteouſly received by the king of the place and his grandees, and a promiſe was obtained of a ready ſupply of neceſſaries. Both his

majesty and attendants were barefooted; and had no other covering but a cloth wrapped round their waists.

After cruising round the promontories, and sounding for three or four days, they at last cast anchor in deep water. The Duke's boat, which had been sent on shore, returned about this time, with some Malaysians in a canoe, who had been enticed by presents to come on board; but of their information they could not avail themselves for want of an interpreter. Captain Dover, indeed, had one on board, but refused to lend him, though upon so necessary an occasion; nor could the natives be prevailed on to go on board his ship. They appeared very impatient to be gone; nor could sweetmeats, and other temptations of this kind, keep them composed. At parting, however, they made signs, and pointing to the land, called out, Boutoo.

Dampier had formerly sailed through these straits; but of the situation of the town he was quite ignorant. It was, therefore, determined to send him, with the linguist, in one of the pinnaces, well manned, to find out the town, and to wait on the sovereign of Bouton, to solicit a supply of provisions. To increase the respectability of his mission, Mr. Vanburgh and Mr. Connely accompanied him.

On the 30th, a proa came from his majesty with a nobleman on board, without either shoes or stockings, and a pilot to conduct the vessels nearer the town. The first question this Indian grandee asked was, how they dared to anchor, without leave, near the coasts of the dominions of the great King of Bouton? This, however, was rather to shew his authority than to use it; for

for he brought some presents of striped cloth, arrac, and rice, from the king, and a letter from the officers ashore, certifying the favourable reception they had met with.

A suitable present was returned, and a salute fired by every ship at the departure of the royal messenger; at which mark of attention he seemed well pleased.

They wooded and watered at the small Island of Sampo, where several proas came off to them with fowl, fruits, and Indian corn, which were bartered for knives, scissars, and clothes. These people were very civil, but charged their commodities high; probably, from a knowledge that they were indispensably necessary.

The characteristic treachery of the Moors began to occur to those on board, when the party did not return from the shore, so soon as was expected. On the 5th of June, however, the Duchess's pinnace brought back Mr. Connely, with the agreeable tidings that four lasts of rice were forwarding, which had been bought of the king for six hundred dollars; and that Mr. Vanburgh was kept as a security for the payment.

Next morning the rice arrived, and was equally distributed among the four ships; and the stipulated payment was made to the king's officers. After this transaction, provisions began to come in more plenty and more cheap.

Bouton stands on the ascent of a hill, the top of which is crowned with a fort, inclosed with an old stone wall, mounted with guns and patereroes. The king, and many of his people, live in the fort, where a daily market for vegetables is kept. His majesty has five wives besides concubines; and four men, denominated puru bas-

fas, carrying large canes with silver heads, the badge of office, are appointed to manage their affairs.

The sovereign appeared in a green gauze spangled covering over his hair, and had, in his general dress, the air of a Dutch skipper. He is always barefooted and barelegged; but when he appears in state, he wears a long calico gown over his usual short jacket. His throne, or chair of state, is covered with red cloth; and he is constantly attended by a sergeant and six men with matchlocks. Three others carry the different ensigns of royalty. At his feet are four slaves, one holding his betel box, another a lighted match, a third his smoking box and a fourth his spitting bason. The tributary kings and his grandees have stations adapted to their respective ranks; but all treat the sovereign of Bouton with the most ceremonious attention.

The town is well peopled; and being seated on the banks of a fine river, has an infinite number of boats plying in the vicinity. No less than fifty islands are tributary to this prince, who annually dispatches some of his proas to collect his revenues. There is only one mosque at Bouton. The inhabitants appeared extremely delighted with music.

All the men being returned, and having parted with his majesty in the most friendly manner, it was now resolved to proceed. Accordingly, the ships got under sail, and next day made three islands to the north of Zalayer. On the 10th, the pinnaces came up with a small vessel, bound from Macassar to Celebes. The master promised to pilot the English to Batavia, if it could be kept secret from the Dutch. Under his conduct
they

they passed the Straights of Zalayer, and made the most southern part of Celebes. In a few days they came in sight of Batavia, and soon after anchored in the road.

Never was a greater change perceptible among the crews than now took place. Those who, a few hours before, were quarrelling for necessaries, were now wallowing in luxuries, and thought themselves arrived at the terrestrial paradise. Captain Rogers says, that he was quite astonished at their behaviour. Instead of finding difficulty in procuring bread and water, it was the only object of contention, who should be at the trouble of preparing their dainty repasts, or making their favourite punch.

By their own reckoning, it was Wednesday the 21st of June when the English landed at Batavia; but, by the Dutch account, it was Thursday the 22d. This difference in the computation of time, is invariably found by the circumnavigators of the globe.

Soon after their arrival, the commanders waited on the governor, who, having examined and approved their commissions with an inquisitive minuteness, promised them all reasonable assistance; but in this he neither seemed nor meant to be sincere, since much importunity was required to obtain permission to careen their ships. However, on the 23d of July they hove down upon Horn Island. Provisions were plenty indeed, but extravagantly dear; and no audience could ever be obtained of the governor, either to obtain redress or assistance, without going through the ceremony of bribing his secretary and guards.

Horn Island was very inconvenient for the purpose of careening; but leave could not be granted to perform this at Unherst, where the Dutch careen their own ships; neither could they procure the assistance of Dutch artificers, so that they were obliged to employ Malaysians. To complete this inimical treatment, the government would not permit any Dutchman to purchase the Marquis, which was now under sale; and therefore they were obliged to part with her to the first English bidder at less than half her value.

Captain Rogers recovered his health very slowly in this unpropitious climate. While he lay at Batavia, a musket shot was extracted from his cheek, which had been mistaken for a part of the jaw; and several splinters were drawn from his heel. The weather was extremely hot while they continued here; and, in consequence, many of the officers and men fell sick. The master of the Duke, the gunner of the Duchesse, and several of the men died of the flux. A young man, named John Read, belonging to the Duchesse, having ventured into the sea to swim, had both his legs snapped off by a shark at one bite; and before he could be drawn on board, the same voracious animal tore away the lower part of his belly, which immediately killed him.

About ten years before Captain Rogers arrived here, there had been an earthquake, which overturned part of the mountains in the neighbourhood of Batavia, and altered the course of the river, so that the canals in and about the city were not nearly so commodious or so deep as they had formerly been. Indeed, the natural insalubrity of the air is considerably heightened by the stagnant waters, and the want of a police

to enforce an attention to cleanliness. Batavia, however, is a very magnificent place, and accumulates the oriental wealth of the Dutch.

Having laid in a supply of provisions, and the officers and men having furnished themselves with such necessaries as might last during the long run they were about to make, the ships set sail from Batavia on the 14th of October; and, on the evening of the 19th, had a terrible storm of thunder and lightning. Some of the men having been sent ashore at Pepper Bay, in Java, to kill buffaloes, were terrified by the tigers; and one person had nearly lost his life by this ferocious race. The native king behaved with much civility; and willingly granted permission to barter the commodities of the country for European articles.

Leaving Pepper Bay, nothing material occurred till they reached the Cape of Good Hope, where they anchored on the 18th of December. In Cape Bay they found only one English ship, but several Dutchmen.

Fearful to sail without convoy, and unwilling to wait till the Dutch should have one ready, Captain Rogers proposed to his consorts, to proceed directly for the Brasils, where they might vend some perishable goods to great advantage, and be in little danger of falling in with an enemy of superior force; and afterwards to sail for Bristol by the north channel. This scheme, apparently so practicable and safe, was set aside for want of unanimity; and the majority resolved to wait for the Dutch fleet, and to sail in a body.

In consequence of this determination, it was the 6th of April 1711 before they were ready to leave

leave the Cape. The whole convoy consisted of sixteen Dutch and nine English ships. The most exact discipline was kept up, and the most prompt obedience paid to the Dutch admiral, though his real station was no other than that of captain of one of their East India ships. He was, however, a man of abilities and good nature, and behaved with great respect and attention to the English who were under his conduct, entertaining their officers, occasionally, in common with those of his own country.

July the 14th they saw two ships, one a Dane, bound for Ireland, which they spoke. She informed them, that the Dutch men of war were cruising off Shetland to protect the convoy. By this vessel Captain Rogers forwarded letters to his owners.

Next morning they made Fair Island and Foul Island, near Shetland; and presently saw the men of war. On the morrow all joined, and mutual salutes were exchanged. The inhabitants of the Shetland Isles came off with fish, and such other provisions as they had. On the 17th, the English captains conveyed information to their owners of their destination for the Texel, where they hoped to find an English convoy.

On the 23d, the commodore made signal for seeing land, and same day they entered the Texel, when the Dutch fired all their guns, and the English saluted the commodore and the flag with several rounds. Here they lay till the 22d of September, employed in various arrangements, but impatient to be gone. On the 2d of October, they arrived safe in the Downs; after the circumnavigation of the globe, which they performed in three years and two months.

To this expedition of Woodes Rogers it was owing, that the spirit of privateering in the South Seas was not totally lost in England, where much art had been used to propagate an opinion, that none but buccaneers could reap any advantage in that quarter. But the event of this voyage convinced the most prejudiced, that, under proper command, the usual modes of warfare may be successfully pursued against the Spaniards; and whenever it is the fate of Britain to contend with that nation, we would strongly recommend it, not only as an object of advantage but of policy, to attack them in the most vulnerable part, their American possessions; which at once supply the sinews of war, and can best repay its losses.

The voyage we have just related, in its prudent and æconomical arrangements, will long serve as a model and a precedent. Though disputes sometimes broke out, by the institution of councils, and the ready means by which grievances could be redressed, mutiny never could take deep root; because it wanted a provocation and a pretext. The officers, we have seen, were men of abilities and humanity; zealous to forward the interests of their proprietors, and, at the same time, not to tarnish the national honour. May their example be imitated, and their success obtained, whenever the jealous imbecility of Spain tempts it to trespass on the generous feelings of Britons!

END OF VOL. III.

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